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By Merryle Stanley Rukeyser

In no period have we been in more dire need of expert guidance and exact knowledge on the business of safeguarding our surplus funds—making them yield a safe, sane and substantial return and show a satisfactory, pleasing growth in principal.

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REVIEW OF REVIEWS AND WORLD'S WORK

Edited by ALBERT SHAW

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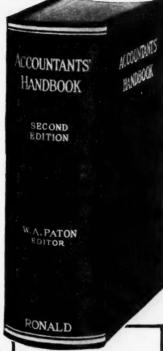
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as a cub reporter. Mr. Harry F. Landon, city editor, has informed me of my first promotion. He is going to send me to Canton, New York, to take charge of the Times news bureau in that city."—Howard R. Dick, 49 Court St., Canton, N. Y.

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Our Authors

Our list of authors this month includes certain names already familiar to our regular readers. Other contributors are well known in the affairs of the country, but newcomers to the pages of this magazine.

- Mrs. August Belmont's interest in human welfare did not begin in these recent years of depression. She has long been identified with various charitable and relief works. Now, as chairman of the women's division, she is closely associated with the Citizens' Committee which is sponsoring the \$15,000,000 drive of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee. Before her marriage she was the very successful actress, Eleanor Robson.
- FREDERIC A. DELANO, uncle of the President-Elect, has devoted most of his life to the professions of banking, engineering, and railroading. In the latter, he has served as an executive with at least five of the nation's important carriers. The Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond now claims him as its Deputy Chairman; under President Wilson he was a member of the Federal Reserve Board.
- Francis Sisson is the subject of a thumbnail sketch on page 31 of this issue.
- CHARLES E. STUART is president of the engineering firm of Stuart, James and Cooke, Inc. For the five years beginning in 1926, this firm was instrumental in directing the reorganization of Soviet Russia's coal industry, in accordance with the Five Year Plan. He is recognized as an authority on national central industrial planning. During the World war he was chief of the Power Conservation Section of the Fuel Administration; and an associate member of the Power Committee of the War Industries Board.
- Charles Lathrop Pack is an expert on forestry. He aided in the reforestation of France and Italy following the World War; and has served as president of the American Nature Association and of the American Tree Association. He reminds our readers that forestry must not be neglected in times of depression, lest the American public be practising a false economy. He strikes a timely note with knowledge and sincerity.
- HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK is the pastor of the Riverside Church, New York. His article on the minister's place in modern life embodies the major portion of an address he made at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, late in October. The address was made during services dedicating that school's new buildings.
- Frank T. Hines is a Brigadier-General in the United States Army, and has been Administrator of Veterans' Affairs since 1930. As it is under his direction that soldiers' compensation is handled, his authoritative article on the bonus is extremely timely in these days of hectic agitation.

Are You a Man Who Has To Be

Shown?

... Then SEE What These Men Are Doing With La Salle Training TODAY

Wm. J. Carter, successful C. P. A. of Atlanta, Ga., "To LaSalle training goes most of the credit."

Leslie L. Guild, Boston, Mass., who made depression a step-ping stone to bigger responsi-bilities and larger success.

HAVE you ever thought about home study training—wondered if it might not help you? What has held you back—has it been a question whether such training would actually bring you more money and larger success?

Listen, then, to these six men—six out of thousands of similar cases in our files—six men who were once as doubtful as you—and when you have heard their actual experiences, tell us, if you can—why you can't do as well.

Guild Raises Pay 100% **During Depression**

During Depression

If you think these hard times are unbeatable, meet Leslie L. Guild and look at his record! A few years ago he was a clerk. Studying Higher Accounting with LaSalle doubled his pay.

Then came the depression—but instead of falling back, Guild stepped up into a better job, again increasing his pay! As he puts it, "I took up your training in Traffic Management and solely through its application was able to qualify as Traffic Manager of the Charles N. Miller Company."

Because of LaSalle training in Commercial Spanish, Guild is aiding his firm in the export market and through his training in Industrial Management has lent valued advice in administrative

lent valued advice in administrative

Guild's rise—like hundreds of others we could name—is definite evidence that the trained man wins. Neither hard times nor tough breaks can hold him back.

Promoted to Partnership

Promoted to Partnership
During Depression
His name is William J. Carter and the depression was only one of his handicaps.
At sixteen he left school; at eighteen he was broke—and married. He enrolled with LaSalle for Higher Accounting—and before he finished the course obtained a position with the Atlanta office of Mount & Clapp, an outstanding firm of Public Accountants. In 1929 he was made Resident Manager. On September 1, 1930—right in the depression—the firm became Mount, Clapp & Carter. And in June, 1932, Mr. Carter was elected President of the Georgia Society of Certified Public Accountants. "To LaSalle training goes most of the credit," Mr. Carter generously writes us.
He says further—and every word is opportunity beckoning to you—"The greatest need of American business today is the proper use of trained, analytical and constructive men. Thanks to LaSalle for their practical and interesting training available to everyone who will reach out and seize it."

Climbs Out of 20-Year Rut

Climbs Out of 20-Year Rut -Doubles His Salary

The future looked bright when Arthur Griffin—"just a kid"—went to work as

a railroad clerk twenty years ago. A year passed—then another—and another—until, to his horror—he realized that he was caught in a rut, with his best years almost gone. Perhaps you know how helpless he felt.

Courageously he looked the facts in the face—saw that the man who makes himself more valuable always gets higher pay and promotion. He invested his spare time in LaSalle training.

Today, he writes, "My recent appointment with the Interstate Commerce Commission is due to LaSalle... My progress started as I studied with you, and now I am not only in a position that pays a much greater salary (100% greater) than I was getting, but my future looks bright."

What About Yourself?

Today we are in a serious depression. Most men think they can't beat it. But as in 1922—a few forward-thinking men like Hull, Carter and Guild will thank their lucky stars they started this year. If you are ambitious and unafraidhere is what we have to say to you—"There are more real opportunities to the thinks there were desired they have the say to the say t

at there are more real opportunities to-day than there were during prosperity. Men who can GET RESULTS are worth their weight in gold. Chances for money and advancement were never brighter for trained men!"

trained men!"

Those are strong words — but the proof is positive—proof that you have already seen, and which is multiplied thousands of times by the experiences of LaSalle students today.

So far six men have testified—but, as you will notice, there's a figure "seven" below. It indicates a coupon which will bring directly to you final proof and evidence. If you will mail it, we will send you:

send you:

(1) The complete story of your possibilities today in your field—translated in terms of pay and advancement.

(2) Full details about LaSalle training for your individual needs and the LaSalle Salary-Increasing Plan.

(3) Free copies of "100 Pay Raises Today" and "Ten Years Promotion in One"—two booklets which are nothing short of amazing, but every word true.

We like to meet men with your attitude. For experience has taught us that

We like to meet men with your attitude. For experience has taught us that "show-me" men are the men with the mettle to make good. And that is all that is necessary with LaSalle; our plan takes care of the rest.

Here we are at figure 7 and the coupon. We are waiting to know whether that "show-me" attitude of yours is real spunk—or whether it is simply an excuse for lack of ambition. What you do with the coupon tells the story.

Remember—sending the coupon does not obligate you in the least, and we guarantee that it will be worth your while. Mail it today—NOW.



H. F. Lofquist, salesman, Elliott-Fisher Accounting Ma-chines, Seattle, Wash., "Every day I am using the knowledge gained from my LaSalle train-ing. My income is 250% greater than when I enrolled."



William Sieferd of Cleveland, Ohio, was over 50, but doing office work at \$18.70 a week. Within one year after starting training, his pay increased 80%. Within seven years, he became Chief Deputy of his department with a salary over 400% greater. "I am only sorry I did not know about LaSalle 25 years ago."



Charles W. Hull, Ass't Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois Carton & Label Company, Elkhart, Indiana, "My income is several times what it was when I envolled, right in the midst of the depression of 1921-1922. If I had not taken LaSalle training, I might still be timekeeper."



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w Did Christmas Come to Be Called YULETIDE ?

Yuletide, and the great yule log that formerly was an important part of its ceremony, are among our oldest traditions.

among our oldest traditions.

The history of the word yule is dimmed a little by the mists of time. But we know that its Medieval English form was yol, from still older Anglo-Saxon yeol, and that it is akin to Icelandic jol, the midwinter feast (going back to heathen times). This word jol may also be the ancestor of jolly, So "Yuletide" from the beginning, perhaps, meant "a jolly time." as it still does, although now in its special Christmas significance. There are thousands of such stories about the origins of English words in

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

Recommended Reading

Andrew Carnegie

The Life of Andrew Carnegie, by Burton J. Hendrick. Doubleday, Doran, 2 vols., 859 pp. \$7.50.

T IS A VERY serious and toilsome responsibility to accept the duty of an official biographer. Mr. Burton J. Hendrick some years ago gave time and pains to finding out about Walter Hines Page, and made a good biography. After much anxious casting about for the right man to prepare the authorized biography of Andrew Carnegie, Mr. Hendrick

was selected and five years ago he began the work.

Andrew Carnegie in his last years was a philanthropist. He had been a Pittsburgh steel man, and previously a telegrapher and then a division' superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad. There are those still living who knew Mr. Carnegie so well that they could write a biographical sketch of his career, his characteristics, and his achievements without looking up any materials at all unless to verify a few dates. The biographer who is not in that position, and who has not lived through long years of ex-perience side by side with the subject about whom he

is writing, labors under disadvantages. Mr. Strachey wrote about Queen Victoria, in his clever way, long enough after her death to be dealing with a personage and a period in some historical retrospect. Mr. Carnegie died as recently as August, 1919, from an attack of pneumonia. He was born in Scotland, November 25, 1835. He was therefore in his eighty-fourth year when he died.

Mr. Hendrick writes his two large volumes with such a wealth of acquired information that it is just a little difficult to pick out the everyday facts of this interesting man's career, even including the date of his birth. Mr. Carnegie came to Pittsburgh in his childhood. He became passionately fond of books and reading. This taste led afterwards, when he became a philanthropist, to the giving of buildings for public libraries in many places.

As superintendent of the Pittsburgh division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Mr. Carnegie knew everything about steel shipments and railroad rates. How he became interested in steel-making and built up the Carnegie Works is a story by itself. He was neither a steelmaker nor a merchant. But he found men who were technical in the industry, and men who were good salesmen. His plan was to make them partners while he controlled the business. Mr. Carnegie's career as a business man ended abruptly on the turn of the new century. A syndicate had obtained an option on the Carnegie steel properties in 1899. It had failed to raise the funds, and Mr. Carnegie had profited by the mil-

lion or two that had been advanced as guaranty money.

A year or two later the

United States Steel Corporation was formed by amalgamation of various plants and properties. But the Carnegie Works were not included. The Carnegie plan to build a big new tube mill, gave the U. S. Steel Corporation something to think about. Mr. Carnegie, supported by his brilliant young associate, Charles M. Schwab, by Mr. Phipps

and his other partners, made his price \$400,000,-000. This was a great advance upon the option he had given not long before. But the late J. P. Morgan never quibbled or hesitated. The \$400,000,000 was paid in

the form of underlying five per cent. bonds, and Charles M. Schwab was made president of the greatest industrial corporation in the world (unless at that time the Standard Oil Company was greater)

Mr. Carnegie meanwhile had announced his doctrine that to die rich was to die disgraced. He built a great house in New York, and lived delightfully. It pleased him to have a castle in Scotland and to entertain the most interesting men of the British Islands-with American friends-during the summer time. He felt his way into large and well systematized forms of public service.

With an ideal home life, his last twenty years were happy, and fruitful of good to mankind. His private and unheralded beneficences were great in number. His larger activities are well known. He became intensely interested in the problem of war and peace, and endowed a Foundation that should work constantly Continued on page 8



ANDREW CARNEGIE 1835-1919

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Continued from page 6

through a long future period to promote international good will. It was chiefly his money that built the beautiful Pan-American Building at Washington. It was his money that built the Peace Palace at The Hague. Along with the money, went his intelligent and sympathetic interest. His library grants resulted in buildings now familiar in a great number of cities, and on many college campuses.

E ASKED friends to help him plan how H to use his money to do more good than harm. He decided very wisely to give the bulk to trustees, with wide discretion. The Carnegie Foundation was formed, and placed in the hands of men like Mr. Elihu Root and Dr. Butler, besides others whom he knew well. A large endowment also was created, from which allowances were to be granted to teachers retiring after long and valuable careers. This board under Dr. Pritchett's direction found it possible to make a series of searching inquiries into our methods of professional education and kindred fields, with results of profound importance. For several years, as a mark of sympathetic understanding, Mr. Carnegie sat as a member of the Rockefeller General Education Board.

The foregoing statements have to do with Mr. Carnegie's life itself, as thoroughly familiar to older friends and associates of that eminent citizen, and they are not pretending to be comments upon Mr. Hendrick's biography. It is enough to say, however, that Mr. Hen-drick has dealt with all phases of the remarkable career of Andrew Carnegie with the faithfulness of a man who was obliged, in the nature of the case, to go through thousands of letters, and to load himself up with countless details. Mr. Schwab, or Dr. Butler, not to mention several other surviving friends of Mr. Carnegie, could have written an illuminating story of his life, with an interpretation of his character and his career, that would have been much more readable than these two large volumes so faithfully produced by Mr. Hendrick.

But it is never necessary to find fault with a thoroughly good piece of work in the fields of history or biography because the author did not do something else, that was not his task. With some hesitation we would venture only one criticism. The volumes might have been so arranged as to make it easier to get at essential facts to facilitate their use for reference purposes. But this criticism is not meant to be severe. Mr. Hendrick's fine volumes contain a wealth of material, including letters written and received by Mr. Carnegie. Much of this has value, not only for industrial history, but also for its relation to international movements. Mr. Hendrick has given us a good bibliography, and a useful index. Let us say finally that many personages of Mr. Carnegie's time stalk across the pages of these volumes, and we get some glimpses of them as they march past. All this serves to enrich the volumes for careful readers .-- A. S.

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A Guide Through World Chaos, by G. D. H. Cole. Alfred A. Knopf, 554 pp. \$3.75.

MR. G. D. H. COLE is a British economist who hangs out at Oxford. He is also a member of the Economic Advisory Council to the British Govern-ment. His new book is called "A Guide Through World Chaos." Mr. Cole is good enough to tell us that he expects to be forty-three years old by the time this book is out. He is a Socialist of the pleasant Fabian Society's group, where intelligence is so superior that it makes you want to jump into a well. Mr. Cole tells us, in his willingness to withhold no essential truth, a great number of things about himself. For instance: "In 1913 (he was then in his twenty-fourth year) I published my first important book, 'The World of Labor'; but before that I had issued two volumes of poems and a translation of Rousseau's 'Social Contract'."

We must not take Mr. Cole lightly. He is a brilliant writer, and in the 250,000 words, more or less, of this compact volume he has attempted to tell us in a broad but thorough way all about the economic evolution of the past two hundred years, the consequences of the war, the world crisis, current phenomena such as unemployment and industrial fluctuations, foreign trade, public finance and taxation, economic organization, the challenge of Russia, and the alternatives to capitalism. He ends the book by telling us that we have to choose a reconstructed Capitalism or else make a plunge into the unknown seas of Socialist experiment. He likes Socialism much better himself, for which he is not to be blamed; but he is worrisome when he tells us that we must act at once and "Bemake the fateful decision speedily. tween these two courses the world has to make up its mind, and the sooner its mind is made up the better."

He has written an important and valuable book (1) because his regular job is to lecture on economics; (2) he has the irrepressible writing habit; (3) he is brainy; (4) he has opinions upon all things. However, Mr. Cole is not going to rush either John Bull or Uncle Sam into a choice between his two alternatives. Britain and the United States will go along, evolving their social and economic life without adopting any theory.

Wilson and House

The Strangest Friendship in History, by George Sylvester Viereck. Liveright, 375 pp. \$3.

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK knows as much about the World War as any man living, and his elaborate study of the close friendship between Woodrow Wilson and Colonel E. M. House—the President's "Man Friday"—is of extraordinary interest. Here are little known pages from American history in the period running from 1912 to 1920.

The book, although sensational in places, is by no means an addition to the library of gossipy scandal. Mr. Viereck

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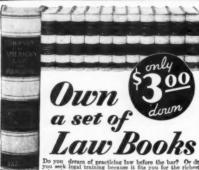
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found research work in the compilation

has a thorough foundation based on firsthand knowledge, and he has done pro-

of his book. He is, of course, no admirer of the Wilson Administration.

Clemenceau declared that God was satisfied with ten commandments, while Wilson insisted upon fourteen. But then, Clemenceau was a notorious atheist with little interest in either the Divine or the Wilsonian program. The President was a great man beset by pitfalls-and Mr. Viereck has shown us those pitfalls fully and ably, though not perhaps in the most sympathetic manner. His book is recommended

Briefer Comment

- "OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY" is by the justly famous Louis D. Brandeis (Stokes, \$2). Here is a revised pre-war study of how bankers are said to behave, through interlocking directorates and the manipulation of credit. Constructive remedies are outlined to rectify banking evils, and to check the undue concentration of wealth. Norman Hapgood has written an able preface.
- IT IS William Kay Wallace's opinion that the Constitution of the United States is hopelessly out of date. Obsolete Constitution" (John Day, \$2) recommends reorganization along lines indicated by the industrial revolution, which has resulted in the age in which we live. Nine great regional states, instead of forty-eight little ones, and the government as supreme economic arbiter -under a national board of directorsare among the author's suggestions.
- "NATIONAL MINORITIES in Europe" is a valuable little compendium by Dr. Otto Junghann (Covici Friede, \$1.50). The author, a former Prussian official, takes up the knotty problem of minority races abroad, fairly and in detail. A useful and exceedingly interesting reference book.
- George Macaulay Trevelyan, British historian, has written "Ramillies and the Union with Scotland" as volume two of his "England Under Queen Anne" series. There will be a third volume. Union of England and Scotland, through a common parliament, came in 1707. Here is the Louis XIV era, magnificently depicted. (Longmans, Green, \$5.)
- A VALUABLE addition to the literature of the World War is Colonel T. Bentley Mott's translation of "The Personal Memoirs of Joffre, Field Marshal of the French Army" (Harpers, 2 vols., \$6). Joffre's fame rests largely on the battle of the Marne in 1914. The account of his actions during the course of this battle that checked the German drive to Paris is one of the most interesting parts of the book. Other interesting sections deal with his contacts with the Allied armies and leaders.

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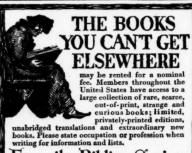
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- THE H. W. Wilson Company has just published Volume VIII of "The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.' In it is listed-by author, title, and topic—everything that has appeared in more than a hundred of the country's best periodicals between January, 1929, and June, 1932. "The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature"-in which THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS AND WORLD'S WORK is indexed-is an invaluable aid for reference work.
- LAST JUNE at Notre Dame University, Owen D. Young made a speech which was later printed in our July issue. Both as a speech and as a magazine article, his inspiring words found wide favor. Now, under the title of "High Courage" (Dutton, \$1.), it is available in booklet form.
- TWELVE PRINCETON professors have contributed to "Facing the Facts" (Putnam's, \$3)-a splendid symposium on current economic problems. Edited by J. G. Smith, the authors and their subjects are as follows: "The Gold Standard in the United States," by Edwin Walter Kemmerer; "Budgets, Bonds, and Ballots," by Harley L. Lutz; "Tariff Policy and Foreign Trade," by Frank Whitson Fetter; "Reparations, War Debts, and Foreign Investments," by Charles R. Whittlesey; "Business, Incorporated," by Stapley Edwin Howard: "Banking and current economic problems. Edited by Stanley Edwin Howard; "Banking and the Stock Market," by James Gerald Smith; "Big Business and the Nation," min; Big Business and the Nation," by Frank Albert Fetter; "Regulating the Power and Light Industry," by Leslie Thomas Fournier; "The Railroad and Its Competitors," by Frank Haigh Dixon; "Liquor Control and Prohibition," by James Douglas Brown; "Whither Agriculture?" by Archibald MacDonald McIsaac: "Unemployment" by David A McIsaac; "Unemployment," by David A. McCabe.
- No more need be said of Walter Lippmann's "Interpretations, 1931-1932" than that the book is a compilation of his informative and analytical newspaper articles on the march of events. Macmillan, in publishing this book, does a rare service in putting the Lippmann articles in permanent form. (\$2.50.)
- "THE INCREDIBLE BALKANS" is Konrad Bercovici's latest effort (Putnam, \$3). It takes up Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Albania, Turkey, and Greece in graphic style, and the Rumanian author knows whereof he writes. He does not spare his fellow Balkanites, and through it all runs the humanitarian motif which characterizes an eminently honest-and entertaining-man.
- ARTHUR HERMAN has turned out a sympathetic biography of "Metternich" (Century, \$5). This much maligned statesman was a practical product of the nineteenth-century "enlightenment"; and his cosmopolitanism, in the opinion of the erudite Mr. Herman, is even today more workable than is internationalism -that is, coöperation between the national states conjured up by the French Revolution. Metternich was a dynast, but no nationalist.—Q. E. D.

Continued on page 13



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The World of Books

Continued from page 11

- BECAUSE Russia's Five Year Plan seemed to be working while this country "Readings in Economic Planning" Business Bourse, New York (\$3.50), by J. George Frederick, is a discussion of the various plans that have been suggested for America, and an analysis of the backgrounds of the whole idea of economic
- • Sixty-one advertising expertsfrom Earnest Elmo Calkins to Roy S. Durstine—contribute chapters to "Careers in Advertising." The four sections of the book discuss the advertiser, the advertising agency, media, and correlative advertising services. Complete and authoritative, it will be valuable to anyone who has any connection, either as client or agent, with advertising. It is edited by Alden James. (Macmillan, \$5.)
- "God's Gold," by John T. Flynn, is a biography of John D. Rockefeller. More than that, it is a story of the era in which he did his great work, and of the contemporaries who helped or hindered him. The author, without eulogizing, feels that Rockefeller has often been maligned; that he has been one of the most worthy representatives of the type and period he has stood for. (Harcourt Brace, \$3.50.)
- MARK SULLIVAN's latest addition to his series on recent history is "Our Times, 1909-1914." We may have lost sight of those years, but Mark Sullivan brings back clearly the idiosyncrasies, the hopes, and the fears of the period in which war clouds were brewing. (Scribners, \$3.75.)
- Just as real as the economic crisis, William Heard Kilpatrick believes, is the social crisis. It shows itself in corrupted politics and business, in racketeering, and in crime. The autnor feels that education must shoulder the responsibility of overcoming these evils he enumerates. "Education and the Social Crisis" explains the campaign he would have it lead. (Liveright, \$1.25.)
- CLARK WARBURTON'S "Economic Results of Prohibition" is a study made from every angle. Of special interest in these days of an impending Federal deficit is his conclusion that in 1930 nearly four billion dollars was spent on alcoholic beverages; and that the Federal Government, if prohibition were not in effect, could now be collecting a maximum of one billion and a quarter dollars a year in liquor taxes. (Columbia, \$3.25.)
- RACKETEERING in its various forms costs the American people some \$15,-000,000,000 a year, says Denis Tilden Lynch in "Criminals and Politicians." Through the pages of this book march the figures, accurately described, who are and have been partly responsible for the growth and spread of rackets. (Macmillan, \$2.)

A Modern Approach to an Ancient Problem

Now comes a remarkable new book written especially for the thinking man and woman. Those persons who prefer to shut their eyes-and their minds—to every discussion of sexual conduct would not appreciate or understand its frank and straightforward expressions. But others who wish to know the opinions of an accepted authority will welcome this announcement. EVERY person who has

kept abreast of modern trends knows that there has been a tremendous outpouring, in recent years, of books concerning the present state of marriage. Many of the authors of these books profess to see signs of impending disaster due to the harshness of the marital relations and the weakness of the sexual code.

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Dr. Robinson believes that

practically all our present-day difficulties surrounding mar-riage are caused by our "preriage are caused by our "pre-historic" attitude towards love and sex based upon conditions of Greek and Egyptian life. He takes as his thesis the need for a modern consideration of problems which are

distinctly of our own times. Dr. Robinson believes that love and sin cannot longer be thought of as the opposite sides of a single coin. Rather does he believe that the truer sociological view would entirely separate the two; and would consider the moral aspect of love and of sex in their wider, humanitarian relations to

In a broad sense, "Sex, Love and Morality" is a pioneer book, outlining a sensible code of sexual ethics which liberal, intelligent

persons can accept and practice. It is a refreshing, invigorating point of view. is unhampered by any desire to force sexual ethics into conformity with preconceived ideals. Dr. Robinson bases his recommendations entirely upon the mental and physical needs of living men and women, as disclosed to him in over a quarter-century's experience as a practicing physician. This thought-provoking book is now available for the first time to the serious-minded

ADULT population of America. If you are earnestly interested in this sincere effort to inspire a newer, more reasonable, more humanitarian morality, you should read, "Sex, Love and Morality."

ality, you should read, "Sex, Love and Morality."
There are few books, to our knowledge, which discuss this vital subject in its entirety with such frankness and freedom. Remember that Dr. Robinson does not write of sexual behavior as it OUGHT to be, but as it IS practiced today. You will not, therefore, be too astonished to discover that he discusses the effect of the present "strait-jacket" coupling of sex and morals in illicit and promiscuous relations, the double standard, prostitution, homoexuality and other abnormalities, pornography and other indications of sex repression, birth control, divorce, illegitimacy, and every other phase of today's sexual problems. Because of the nature of its contents, "Sex, Love and Morality" is available in a limited edition only. It may be obtained from the publishers only and only by subscription. The eminent standing of its distinguished author, the importance of the subject it discusses, the humanitarian attitude taken, all combine to trage you to send for this remarkable book before the present supply is exhausted Like many others who have read the book, you will also consider it among the most valuable contributions to the literature of sexual conduct ever offered to the public. Write for your copy at once. Merely fill in and mail the coupon.

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A light forever burning... A voice that is never stilled



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REVIEW OF REVIEWS

AND

Vol. LXXXVI, No. 6

WORLD'S WORK

DECEMBER, 1932

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

By ALBERT SHAW

Relief is the Season's First Duty AHEAD OF US lies a hard winter by reason of the fact that so many wage-earners are unemployed, and so many people of advanced years have exhausted their savings or

lost their investments. At the beginning of November no authoritative sources disputed the estimate that more than ten million American citizens, who had been accustomed to earning wages or salaries, were out of work. It is true that during September and October several hundred thousand workers were reported as restored to full-time or part-time employment. But neither the Department of Labor at Washington, the American Federation of Labor, nor any informed representative of industry, had been optimistic enough to expect that the return to prosperity could come with a rapid sweep, or with a landslide like the election of November 8. It will continue to be true that self-reliance, family cooperation, and neighborly helpfulness will protect a large majority of the households whose wage-earners are unemployed, from the extremes of hunger, illness, and suffering.

In earlier times, when our cities were smaller, and our economic and social life was simpler, the voluntary and private sources of relief were relied upon in times of distress. Such private measures did not, indeed, prevent widespread foreclosures of farm mortgages and similar disasters. We have been through such extremes of prolonged depression since 1929 that former periods of bank failures, panics, and business paralysis are considered only by economic students, or by older citizens with trained powers of memory and comparison.

The state of New York, with no appreciable opposition, voted on November 8 in support of a bond issue of \$30,000,000 to be used for purposes of relief in view of the emergency of the present season. Other states have taken similar action. Just how such efforts will be efficiently combined with those of municipal and local governments and with the systematized work of voluntary agencies, will be set forth in our next number. It will be remembered that the last session of Congress authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to distribute the sum of \$300,000,000 to the states as loans, also for explicit and exclusive use in the relief of suffering. Some \$67,000,000 had thus been advanced up to November 10.

The point involved in this borrowing is one of convenience in obtaining credit. Many states need relief money that can not be supplied from current revenues. Nor is there any immediate and favorable market for their bonds. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has behind it the credit of the entire United States, and can distribute the \$300,000,000 without delay as necessity is shown. There will come a time when state credit

UNEMPLOYED IN A MARCH ON LONDON

This is a contingent from South Wales, whose banner proclaims "against economies at the workers' expense." The demonstration took place late in October. These hunger marchers wanted their dole. They objected specifically to the socialled Means Test which deprives them of all or part of the dole if they have other visible means of support.



is good, and these relief loans will be repaid at the convenience of the borrowing states. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation sells its debentures to the Treasury and the Treasury in turn borrows at a lower rate of interest than most of the states would have to pay.

As of November 10 we were officially informed, at our request, that distribution had been made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in the following amounts, to thirty-five of our forty-eight states and to Hawaii and Porto Rico:

Alabama	\$ 225,000	New Mex.	91,000
Arizona	250,000	No. Car.	815,000
Arkansas	1,031,000	No. Dak.	50,000
Colorado	1,085,000	Ohio	6,406,000
Florida	836,000	Oklahoma	818,000
Georgia	467,000	Oregon	229,000
Idaho	300,000	Penn.	11,304,000
Illinois	20,303,000	So. Dak.	431,000
Indiana	497,000	Tenn.	468,000
Iowa	34,000	Texas	1,162,000
Kansas	464,000	Utah	640,000
Kentucky	672,000	Virginia	1,071,000
Louisiana	2,385,000	Wash.	885,000
Michigan	4,846,000	West Va.	1,576,000
Minnesota	655,000	Wisconsin	3,000,000
Mississippi	850,000	Hawaii	307,000
Missouri	1,007,000	Porto Rico	360,000
Montana	475,000		
Nevada	55,000		
New Hamp.	667,000	Total	\$66,717,000

As regards sums of money advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to prevent the failure of banks and other institutions (such as building-and-loan associations and insurance companies), the processes of liquidation and the return to the banks of large sums that had been withdrawn to be hoarded are now resulting in the steady return flow of appreciable instalments of the sums distributed by the authority of the R. F. C.

Policies of Justified

As against the charges of his opponents in the campaign that the the "R. F. C." are Reconstruction Finance Corporation had forgotten the masses of plain people, and had devoted it-

self to the rescue of banks and corporations, Mr. Hoover in his speeches made remarkably convincing and thoroughgoing replies. He showed repeatedly that to help some thousands of banks was to save millions of plain people from direct and indirect losses. To help railroads meet maturing obligations was to protect the bonds that lay behind the insurance policies of other millions of citizens. Except for the ex officio member of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (Mr. Mills, Secretary of the Treasury) the Board consists of four Democrats and two Republicans, with a distinguished Democrat, Mr. Pomerene of Ohio, as its chairman.

When Mr. Hoover in his campaigning found himself at St. Louis, he was made aware that throughout the middle west the story was everywhere circulated that the President, for personal and partisan reasons, had caused the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to advance a large sum (said to be \$80,000,000) to support banking interests at Chicago with which General Charles G. Dawes is identified. Mr. Hoover decided to meet these attacks by overcoming his usual reluctance to mention names. General Dawes had been chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He had

resigned and returned to Chicago to help save imperilled banks. Former Senator Pomerene had at once been called to Washington to fill the vacancy. General Dawes had striven against suggestions of aid from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, although thousands of other banks had already been helped. But the Chicago situation had become exceedingly critical. There was impending a general closure of Chicago banks. There would have followed a widespread banking panic, with consequences to millions of people that were set forth in most frank and convincing terms at St. Louis by Mr. Hoover.

It was a serious week-end in the circles of high finance at Washington, at New York, at Cleveland, and at other banking centers, as well as at Chicago. It devolved upon President Hoover to organize the rescue. He was fully supported by Melvin Traylor, the leading Democratic banker of Chicago, whose name had been urged for the Democratic presidential nomination. Similar support had come from high Federal Reserve authorities, like Mr. Owen D. Young of New York, with Democrats and Republicans doing their best to prevent a disaster at Chicago that would have been visited upon the whole country. It was precisely to protect us all against such dangers that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had been devised, and awarded its extraordinary powers by action of Congress regardless of party lines.

At the time of this crisis there seemed to be good reasons for avoiding too much publicity. Everything was being done in the public interest, but an immediate statement of the situation in detail might have increased anxiety, led to further hoarding, and retarded the restoration of confidence and credit that was the thing needed above all else. False publicity, however, had been causing so much harmful misunderstanding that Mr. Hoover thought it well to tell the truth at St. Louis. He protected the reputation of General Dawes as a high-spirited and honorable citizen who had been Vice-President of the United States and had served the country in many capacities. As for Mr. Hoover in situations of that kind, now that the election is over, we may well leave his reputation in the hands of honorable Democrats, whose sober second thought will make them hesitate to condone slanders and libels against the President of the United States.

Mr. Hoover Congratulates Mr. Roosevelt

This magazine over a long period has never flinched from the presentation of public issues whether by statement of facts or by interpretations, as seemed proper to its

editor. It has maintained a close relation with many readers who are persons of influence. A few of our newer readers may not have liked some of its comments upon the recent campaign, or upon the bonus issue, or upon certain actions of the Senate and the House in recent sessions. Older readers, regardless of party or section, are aware that in these editorial pages we have never assumed for a moment that we were expected to be drab and colorless.

As we have remarked month after month, our presidential system is unlike that of any other important government. In the nature of his duties the President must act for the whole country, and cannot think narrowly as a partisan, even though he must have won his place through the support of a party and may look to

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT WITH HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGERS

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James A. Farley (seated) is chairman of the Democratic National Committee, succeeding Mr. Raskob. The nomination itself was looked upon as an achievement of political strategy, with Mr. Farley the individual most responsible. Standing in this picture—in the background, as always—is Louis McHenry Howe. Some have called him the "master mind" of the campaign. Colonel Howe is a newspaper man, a political aid of the president-elect since one was an Albany correspondent and the other a member of the State Senate, more than twenty years ago.

party majorities in Congress for the coöperation that his policies require. Our Presidents serve for four years regardless of criticism or disparagement. We have endeavored to understand something of the disastrous times through which the world has been passing. We have not been enthusiastic about either partisan group in the Senate or the House.

But we have regarded President Hoover as a man better fitted than others to cope with the governmental aspects of our economic distress. In any case, the country had elected him in 1928 to meet the exigencies of the presidential job. From the time

of his election until the present, this magazine has done what it could to set forth public issues, and it has been objective enough not to deny the fact that Herbert Hoover was actually in the White House. Repeatedly it has been stated in these pages that if Alfred E. Smith had been elected in 1928 he would have been President of the whole American people, and we should have done whatever we could in our modest way to serve the interests of our readers and of the wider public by helping to make Mr. Smith's administration a success.

Early in the evening of election day it was evident enough that Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York had been elected to the presidency by an unprecedented sweep. President Hoover, in concluding his speaking campaign, had gone across the country to his own state of California and to his home at Palo Alto near the Stanford University, of which he has long been a trustee. At 9:30 (Pacific Coast Time) Tuesday evening President Hoover sent the following telegram:

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, Hyde Park, N. Y.

I congratulate you on the opportunity that has come to you to be of service to the country and I wish you a most successful administration. In the common purpose of all of us, I shall dedicate myself to every possible helpful effort.

HERBERT HOOVER.

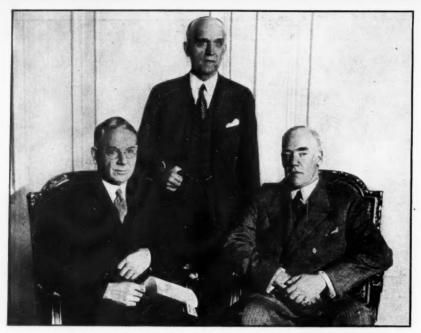
This was a fine message in the true American spirit, and it recognizes in its first sentence the bold distinction between our governmental system and that of the normal governments of leading European countries



under the parliamentary system. When an upset occurs in England or France or Germany, the principal loser does not congratulate the winner on his opportunity to serve the country, and certainly never expresses the hope that he may have a "most successful administration"! If Hitler were winning in Germany, the leaders of opposition parties would never dream of sending any such cheering message. Under the English and French parliamentary plans, the opposition is always trying to shorten the term of the actual prime minister and cabinet, and loses no occasion to wish it bad luck.

Over long periods, French Prime Ministers have held office for an average term of only six months. We are not mentioning the French presidency, because it bears so slight a relation to the actual government. In England ministries are of longer average duration, but they are always subject to possible vicissitudes that may bring their opponents into power. Our President, detached from Congress in many of his functions, has great power under the Constitution, and is secure in his place for four years. Those who know best about the duties and the efforts of our Presidents, one after another, are more likely to praise and support than to criticise and disparage.

Election day found Mr. Hoover with four calendar months (lacking four days) remaining of his four-year term. It also found the Seventy-Second Congress with a similar lease of life, although it will be only three months in actual session because its final term opens on Monday, December 5. During these remaining months, President Hoover will do his best to coöperate with



THAT INDUSTRIAL PLANTS shall not deteriorate. This is a group of business leaders meeting in Philadelphia, planning a nation-wide movement. Left to right are: A. W. Robertson, chairman of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company; Philip H. Gadsden, president of the Philadelphia Chamber of Com merce; and John E. Zimmermann, president of the United Gas Improvement Company.

Congress, with the states, and with private citizens regardless of party, for the relief of the victims of this period of depression and for the return of prosperity by wise means and measures. Our readers would know without our saying it that we think of the government as a continuing affair, and that we support it as an instrument of the general welfare. We Americans do not follow chieftains blindly; and Governor Roosevelt will not think of his victory as mainly a personal affair. He will also be generous enough to agree that the defeat of the Republican party is not to be laid at the White House door. Mr. Hoover was the Republican party's best asset, and nothing could be further from the truth than the idea that the Republican party was in better odor with the country than were its candidates for President and Vice-President. Personalities were too freely bandied about during the campaign, and the newspapers on the day after election expressed themselves with the quick adjustment to facts that is their custom.

By noon of Wednesday the entire country had become so familiar with the election results that it was already an old story so far as the Hoover defeat and the Roosevelt victory were concerned. There were state and local situations that continued to hold attention for several days. A better time for comment upon the change of administrations will come in March and April so far as this periodical is concerned. Mr. Hoover's administration can then be reviewed as a whole. President-elect Roosevelt will have made his Cabinet appointments, will have prepared his inaugural address with care, and will have taken up his arduous burden of responsibility.

"Lame-Duck" Sessions Will Soon Be Ended

FOR ALMOST THE ENTIRE period of its existence this magazine has advocated a change in certain fixed dates that produce an overlapping of Congresses and a delay that is too long between the popular vote in November and the

inauguration of a President in March. In thirty-four of the states (two more than two-thirds of all) we chose new legislatures and governors on November 8. Most of these governors will begin their terms early in January, and most of the legislatures will also assemble then. It is the new legislature and not the old one that convenes some eight weeks after the election at the state capitals, unless an unusual emergency should oblige a retiring governor to call the old legislature in special session.

As regards Congress, however, there are only two regular sessions; and one of these always opens one month after a new Congress is elected. This has come to be known as the "lame duck" session, because a number of members are present who have been defeated for reëlection and who are somewhat unkindly referred to as disabled birds of a certain homely barnyard type. For many years there has been an effort at Washington, often defeated but always renewed, to persuade Congress

that an amendment to the Constitution, changing these fixed dates, ought to be submitted to the states for endorsement. Senator Norris of Nebraska has been a persistent advocate of this reform. A proposed amendment had been adopted by the Senate seven times in the course of the years, only to fail in the House. Finally, the amendment was drafted in such form that the House was willing to accept it, and actually gave it a supporting vote last February. The two Houses came to an agreement upon final form on March 2, and it crossed the Potomac in its tour of the states soon enough to be ratified by Virginia on March 4. On September 30 it was accepted by Alabama, as the seventeenth legislature that had acted favorably. In the seven months' interval the amendment had been ratified by Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, and West Virginia. Thirty-two legislatures are to meet in January, and only a few weeks hence we may be quite sure that the nineteen additional ratifications necessary to secure its endorsement by the requisite thirty-six states will be forthcoming.

The amendment begins the term of a new President on the 20th day of January, instead of the 4th day of March. It provides that the terms of Senators and Representatives shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January. The most important part of the amendment is Section 2, which declares: "The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day."

This will end the overlapping that now exists. It will also end what we call the "long term" and the "short term". We elect the entire House of Representatives in November for a two-year term. Under the amendment soon to be adopted, these two years will coincide with the two following calendar years (except for the first two days of January). Each of the two regular sessions beginning on January 3 will be as long or as short as Congress may find necessary. This present Congress may be the last one to expire on March 4.

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These arrangements are to take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of the amendment by the states. As we understand the situation, the new Congress just elected will not have its first regular session begin on the first Monday of December, 1933, but rather on January 3, 1934. But it is the general belief that President-elect Roosevelt, who will be inaugurated on March 4, will call the new Congress to meet in extra session at some time during the year. It seems also to be inferred from the wording of the amendment that President-elect Roosevelt will come to the end of his term on January 20, 1937, which would shorten the four-year term by forty-three days. This view may not be tenable.



MRS. AUGUST BELMONT SPEAKS for emergency relief, as chairman of the Women's Division of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee of New York City (see page 26). At the left of this group is Harvey D. Gibson, chairman of the committee. At the right is Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation.

The President Remains at His Post

THESE PROPOSED CHANGES of dates seem to us desirable on many grounds. We have not merely the example of our own states which inaugurate governors and bring

legislatures into session within two months after election; we have also the example of European governments and of Canada, that always convene the newly chosen Parliament rather than its predecessor. In certain circumstances a quick change in the presidential office after election might be of advantage. That would not be true however in our immediate situation. President Roosevelt should have a clear start on March 4, with the opportunity to call in special session the new House with its strong Democratic majority and the changed Senate which also will be under full Democratic control.

President Hoover in his speech at Springfield, Ill., on November 4, referred at length to the campaign of 1864 which resulted in Mr. Lincoln's reëlection. Mr. Hoover quoted from the letters and state papers of Abraham Lincoln a memorandum reading as follows:

> Executive Mansion, Washington, Aug. 23, 1864.

This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be reelected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration; as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he cannot possibly save it afterward.

A. LINCOLN.

What Mr. Lincoln would really have done is altogether conjectural. He wrote the memorandum for himself, rather than for the public, in a moment of discouragement. We were in the midst of a great war, and if Lincoln had been rejected in favor of McClellan he might have preferred to bring the President-elect at once into military control of the situation.

In 1916 we were not at war, but we were becoming seriously involved in one way or another in the stupendous struggle that had been going on in Europe for more than two years. The election of Charles Evans Hughes for several days seemed assured. President Wilson had accepted his supposed defeat as a fact. Then came the slow returns that gave California to the Democrats, although Hiram Johnson had won an immense Republican majority for himself. It has been stated that Mr. Wilson was prepared to resign, in such a way as to bring his successor into office at once. With the issues of war and peace at stake, Mr. Wilson's alleged intention had some reason behind it.

The present circumstances, however, do not in any way resemble those of 1864 or 1916. Mr. Hoover is a great administrator, working out the details of a program for national relief and reconstruction that has in its principal features been adopted by the Seventysecond Congress. He is dealing with emergency boards and commissions, entirely non-partisan in personnel as well as in their activities. He will have to prepare his message for the meeting of Congress on December 5. His hard campaigning for several weeks was with him merely a side issue. He was absorbed in the pressing duties of his office. Nothing that he could possibly do as President could in the slightest degree derogate from the significance of the party victory of November 8. President-elect Roosevelt will be Governor of New York through the remainder of the present year, and does not think of resigning in favor of the Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, who has been elected Governor by a large majority over all of his opponents.

If the new Congress were coming in on January 3, President Hoover might like to step aside in favor of his successor on January 20. But the new dates are not to take effect for another year. Rumors about possible resignations were rife, and were rather absurdly

encouraged by newspaper correspondents. But within forty-eight hours after the election it was stated that Governor Roosevelt would serve out his term at Albany; and Mr. Hoover, of course would not have done anything quixotic. Christmas and New Year's happen this year to fall on Sunday, and probably Governor Lehman's simple inauguration ceremonies will occur on Monday. The legislature of New York, as newly elected, will assemble on Wednesday, January 4. Governor Roosevelt will not have arduous duties at Albany during November and December, and he will be entirely free from official work during the months of January and February. On Wednesday, the day after election, Governor Roosevelt sent the following reply to Mr. Hoover's message of congratulation:

The President,

Palo Alto, Cal.

I appreciate your generous telegram for the immediate as well as for the more distant future. I join in your gracious expression of a common purpose in helpful effort for our country.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

It had been hoped that the President, who had not been able for four years to make a vacation visit to his California home, would find it possible to remain for a week or two of relaxation. But there was an official load to be borne at Washington that he understood better than anyone else, and after three days he was eastbound.

Before Mr. Hoover left California he received from Secretary Stimson a communication from the British Government asking for a postponement of debt payments due December 15, to a total of about \$95,000,000. most of this amount being interest, with the smaller part an instalment on the principal. This British request was part of a concerted European plan, and it was followed at once by a communication from the French government, and by notes from other debtor nations. Mr. Hoover, on November 13, sent an important message to Governor Roosevelt, explaining the situation as regards debts, the world economic conference, and the disarmament conference. It was certain that none of these situations could possibly be cleared up during the remaining months of the Hoover Administration. Governor Roosevelt, who was to be on his way to Georgia for a brief vacation, was invited by the President to stop off at Washington, in order to join in a non-partisan conference upon these international problems. The President-elect at once accepted, for a personal and informal talk as preliminary. We shall abstain from any further discussion of the subject-matter of the White

GOVERNORS OF STATES ELECTED NOVEMBER 8

Arizona Dr. B. B. Moeur, D. Arkansas J. Marion Futrell, D. Colorado E. C. Johnson, D. Connecticut Wilbur L. Cross, D. Delaware. Landreth L. Layton, D. Florida Dave Sholtz, D. Georgia Eugene Talmadge, D. Idaho C. Ben Ross, D. Illinois Henry Horner, D. Indiana Paul V. McNutt, D. Iowa Clyde Herring, D. Kansas A. M. Landon, R. Massachusetts Joseph B. Ely, D. Michigan William A. Comstock, D. Minnesota Floyd B. Olson, F-L. Missouri Guy B. Park, D. Mortana Frank Hozelbaker, R. Nebraska Charles W. Bryan, D. New Hampshire J. G. Winant, R. New Mexico Arthur Seligman, D. North Carolina J. C. B. Ehringhaus, D. North Carolina J. C. B. Ehringhaus, D. North Carolina J. C. B. Ehringhaus, D. North Dakota H. C. De Puy, D.	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
KansasA. M. Landon, R.	
Michigan William A. Comstock, D.	
MinnesotaFloyd B. Olson, F-L	*
MissouriGuy B. Park, D.	
MontanaFrank Flazelbaker, K.	
NebraskaCharles W. Bryan, D.	
New HampshireJ. G. Windnt, R.	
	•
New York Herbert H. Lenman, D.	
North CarolinaJ. C. B. Enringhaus, D.	
Ohio	ģt.
Rhode Island T. F. Green, D.	
South Dakota	
TennesseeHill McAlister, D.	
TexasMrs. Miriam A. Ferguson, D.	
Utah Henry H. Blood, D.	
VermontStanley C. Wilson, R.	ķ
Washington Clarence D. Martin, D.	
West VirginiaH. G. Kump, D.	
Wisconsin A. G. Schmedeman, D.	
Wyoming	
1,	

*Reëlected.

Democratic Governors are chosen to succeed Republican incumbents in Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Republican Governors are chosen to succeed Democratic incumbents in two states, Kansas and Montana.

UNITED STATES SENATORS ELECTED NOVEMBER 8

Alabama......Hugo Black, D.*

ArizonaCarl Hayden, D. ArkansasHattie W. Caraway, D.
Arkansas Hattie W. Caraway, D.
California Wm. Gibbs McAdoo, D.
Colorado
(To fill a vacancy)
ColoradoAlva B. Adams, D.
ConnecticutA. Lonergan, D.
FloridaDuncan U. Fletcher, D.
Georgia Richard B. Russell, Jr., D.
(To fill a vacancy)
GeorgiaWalter F. George, D.
IdahoJames P. Pope, D.
IllinoisWilliam H. Dieterich, D.
Indiana Frederick Van Nuys, D.
IowaLewis Murphy, D.
KansasGeorge McGill, D.
KentuckyAlben W. Barkley, D.
LouisianaJohn H. Overton, D.
Maryland Millard E. Tydings, D.
Missouri Bennett C. Clark, D.
NevadaPatrick McCarron, D.
New HampshireFred H. Brown, D.
New Jersey W. Warren Barbour, R.*
New YorkRobert F. Wagner, D.
North CarolinaR. R. Reynolds, D.
North Dakota Gerald P. Nye, R.*
OhioRobert J. Bulkley, D.
OklahomaElmer Thomas, D.*
OregonFrederick Steiwer, R.*
PennsylvaniaJames J. Davis, R.*
South Carolina E. D. Smith, D.*
South Dakota Peter Norbeck, R.*
Utah
VermontPorter H. Dale, R.*
VermontPorter H. Dale, R.* WashingtonHomer T. Bone, D.
WisconsinF. Ryan Duffy, D.

^{*}Reëlected.

Of thirty-five Senate seats that were at stake, the Democrats carried twenty-eight and the Republicans only seven.

One seat in Colorado and one in Georgia are for short terms.

WHAT HAPPENED ON ELECTION DAY

Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York, for President and John Nance Garner, of Texas, for Vice-President, the Democratic candidates, carry 42 states—losing only six eastern states to Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis, Republicans, who sought reëlection. These six states are Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

The electoral vote is: Roosevelt, 472; Hoover, 59. The estimated popular vote is: Roosevelt, 21 millions; Hoover, 15 millions (an exact reversal of the 1928 Hoover landslide over Alfred E. Smith). Norman Thomas, Socialist, polls something less than 750.000 votes.

Elections to the House of Representatives are won by 314 Democrats (a gain of 96), 111 Republicans, 4 Farmer-Laborites, with 6 seats remaining in doubt as we go to press.

Elections to the United States Senate will give the Democrats 59 seats (a gain of 12); Republicans, 36; Farmer-Laborite, 1. Thirty-four Governors are elected, only five of whom are Republicans.

Nine states vote to repeal their own prohibition enforcement laws: Arizona, California, Colorado, Michigan, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming.

In New York City, Tammany elects its candidate as Mayor—John P. O'Brien—to serve during 1933 as successor to the resigned James J. Walker. Two hundred and fifty thousand who entered the booths failed to vote for Mayor; 135,000 others wrote-in, under difficulties, the name of Acting Mayor Joseph V. McKee.

Bond issues for emergency relief are approved by the voters of New York (30 million dollars) and New Jersey and Illino's (20 million dollars each).

House conference. Mr. Hoover made it plain that Congress had taken out of his hands all initiative as regards an extension of last year's moratorium.

This Winter's
Perplexities
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It is not to be denied that the election results had a marvelous effect upon the country's state of mind. A close election would have been disturbing, no matter which

ticket had been elected. The actual conditions served to clear the air at once. The sweep that gave Mr. Hoover his victory over Al Smith four years ago was only less decisive in the statistical sense than the results of the present year. The southern states broke away in 1928 from their usual adherence to the Democratic party and voted for Hoover. This caused continuing bitterness and controversy in the South. The Hoover electoral vote was piled up to the unprecedented total of 444. This year the South was anxious to show that its action in 1928 was only temporary, and it returned to the Democratic fold with a vote that in some places was almost unanimous. Mr. Hoover's great majority, in short, was due to temporary mutiny and revolt within the Democratic party, because of prohibition especially. This year, there was no mutiny or revolt within either party. Many people voted with reasons, but still more people voted for a change because they wanted to try it. They were not really voting their loyalty to candidates or their adhesion to definite policies.

When it was all over people were ready to forget the disagreeable things that were said in the last weeks of the campaign. Mr. Hoover's position as administrative head of the government for four months after the election will have lost nothing of its prestige and authority. With party politics out of the way, it will be clearer than ever before that he takes up questions as they arise, and handles them with remarkable ability. No one will doubt his high patriotism, tireless industry, unequalled range of information, and full courage in the face of public duty. The Democratic victory has been so complete that the many Democrats who are free from narrow prejudice, and from self-seeking aims, will do their best to help the country through the coming

President Hoover has not forgotten for a moment that we are near the middle of a fiscal year that is going to show another immense deficit. The Seventy-second Congress will have to deal with the issues of taxation and economy, and to pass a revenue bill and appropriation bills for the fiscal year beginning the first of next July. The Democrats have only a slight majority in this surviving Congress; and Speaker Garner, who in his capacity as Vice-President is to preside over the Senate after March 4, will remain this winter as Speaker of the House. The Senate, nominally Republican, has for several years been controlled by a coalition of Democrats and Insurgents. It has been much harder for Mr.

Hoover to deal with the nominally Republican Senate than with the actually Democratic House.

winter in a spirit of cooperation.

During the last session Speaker Garner was responsible for supporting some inexcusably bad measures. His "pork-barrel" bill that proposed to scatter costly post-office buildings throughout all the counties of America, in villages that did not need such buildings any more than they needed Eiffel Towers, was the most monstrous proposal of its kind that was ever foisted upon Congress by the leader of a majority party. Mr. Roose-



FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S NEW PROBLEMS

By Summers, in the Cleveland News

velt may well be thankful that he does not have to sit in the White House and do business with this Seventysecond Congress. Mr. Hoover's ability to get so much of his constructive program for business recovery through the most "ornery" Congress in the memory of living man, has been a triumph of patience, ingenuity, and leadership that was supported by the best public opinion in both parties.

Prohibition Must Be Dealt With WITH NO DESIRE to force what some ill-informed people might call Republican policies upon a country that has given so sweeping a verdict in favor of Democratic

candidates, President Hoover will have to deal at once with problems that are both difficult and complicated. Doubtless he will discover in himself more serenity of mind than would have been the case if he had been reelected by a close margin, with long further years of responsibility ahead of him. He is in no manner sponsor for the Seventy-second Congress, and he will not try to place any obstructions across the pathway of a special session of the Seventy-third Congress that Franklin Roosevelt will probably have to call in March or April.

It would be absurd to deny that the country has shown in the recent election its definite purpose to take the Eighteenth Amendment out of the Constitution, where it ought never to have been placed. It is by no means certain that this "lame duck" session can agree upon a repeal proposal that would take acceptable form. In our opinion the Republican platform was not duly explicit on this prohibition question. President Hoover's attitude was sincere, but not thoroughly understood. Both national conventions favored the idea that the prohibition question should be submitted to the states in some form. Also both declared that the states should act in conventions chosen for that particular purpose, rather than through legislatures. Some younger readers may like to be reminded that changes in the Constitution must be first agreed upon by two-thirds majorities in both houses of Congress, and afterward ratified by three-fourths of the states. This state approval has heretofore been given by the legislatures. But it is provided in Article V of the Constitution of the United States that proposed amendments may be "ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states or by conventions in three-fourths thereof as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress."

We may believe, therefore, that repeal or modification of the Eighteenth Amendment in some form will be submitted to the states within the next few months. If not submitted by the expiring Congress, we may expect that the new President will call an extra session of the Seventy-third Congress, in order that the question may go to the states as soon as possible. It is to be presumed that the platforms of both parties, favoring state conventions, will be recognized by Congress. The states will have no option as between the two modes of ratification.

We are not able to inform our readers regarding questions of detail as to the setting up of these state conventions. They ought to be of uniform character, and this would seem to require some legislative action at Washington apart from the proposal itself which the conventions must act upon. To elect the delegates and hold these conventions, must be a matter of considerable expense. Will this be borne by the separate states, or met by an appropriation at Washington? Will it be provided that the Governors shall call the conventions under terms of Federal law, or must the legislatures take action providing for the conventions?

A large majority of the legislatures will be in session in January. Most of them finish their terms in two or three months. To a layman it seems possible that Federal legislation might provide for the state conventions, and avoid the necessity of special sessions of state legislatures to arrange for the set-up in the forty-eight states of the convention machinery. It is enough to say in this paragraph that something is almost certainly going to be done about prohibition by the middle of the year 1933.

A number of states have been engaged in efforts to repeal their local enforcement acts, or have in other ways been taking up prohibition as a state affair. Mr. Hoover had been determined that there should be no invasion of the so-called "dry" states by the commercial activity of liquor interests in the "wet" states. But upon this point there had been no real difference of opinion. However, the election results would indicate that we are not to have any sharp demarcation between states that are "wet" and states that are "dry". The original dry state was Maine, which went wet in the September election. The next dry state was Kansas, and it went Democratic and wet on November 8. Iowa as a dry state for fifty years has never even pretended to suppress the beer saloons, especially in the cities along the eastern border.

There is a widespread determination to smash the bootlegging industry as regards both supply and distribution. Our public treasuries are exhausted, and probably a majority of the people of the United States are willing to see the imposition of taxes on beer that may rival in results the internal revenue tax on tobacco which now approximates \$450,000,000 per annum. We are not, however, as ready to believe as are many others that, with the Eighteenth Amendment remaining in the

Constitution, the Volstead Act will be so modified as to permit an immediate federal revenue on beer. We have first to get the Eighteenth Amendment out of the way before we can have any real freedom of action to deal with the future problems of the manufacture, sale and taxation of alcoholic beverages.

The Sales Tax will be Needed

Meanwhile the problem of taxation stares us in the face, and cannot be avoided. Candidates for Congress could not dodge questionnaires on the subject of

prohibition; and also they were given a pointed opportunity to say whether or not they would favor a general manufacturers sales tax. The affirmative responses were so numerous that we may hope for the passage of a sales tax even in the lame duck session.

Our readers should remember that the Ways and Means Committee prepared a revenue bill that included the sales tax, and reported it to Congress with the concurrence of Democratic and Republican members of that committee. It was beaten on the floor of the House by a wild mutiny led by Mr. LaGuardia of New York. The mob that assumed control was non-partisan, although it included more Democrats than Republicans. Mr. LaGuardia for several terms has represented a constituency in the region called Harlem, which is the northern part of New York City. He was an aviator in the war, is an orator of dash and eloquence, but is the victim of a political temperature that is always above normal. He will not go back to the Seventy-third Congress. The country would appreciate it if he would exercise self-restraint during the remaining weeks of his service in Congress. He is no barnyard duck, but a high and fast-flying wild bird; and his lameness is not likely to affect his wings. He had so much fun smashing things in the last session that he could well afford to be less spectacular this winter.

The sales tax, therefore, is likely to be reported again out of the same Ways and Means Committee. But this time John Garner could have a Democratic caucus called to endorse and protect the bill in view of the danger that LaGuardia and his cohorts might stampede again. The best and fairest tax that operates throughout the country is the gasoline tax. complains about it, and it is paid by those who use the public highways. If they wish to pay less tax, they can limit their joy-riding. After having killed the general sales tax, Congress was not much complimented last spring when in a somewhat sneaking way it usurped the field that had been pre-empted by the states, and imposed an additional Federal tax of one cent per gallon on gasoline. By voluntary agreement the contiguous states should make their gasoline taxes uniform in amount and regulation. Otherwise it is quite impossible to prevent gasoline bootlegging across the boundary line into the state that has the higher tax rate.

The most outrageous example of gasoline bootlegging is set by the District of Columbia, with Congress wholly responsible. All the taxpayers of the United States are supporting roads, parks, and public improvements in the Federal district, through Congressional appropriations. But whereas the state of Virginia levies a gasoline tax of five cents, the local tax in the Capital City has not been increased beyond two cents. The roads of Maryland and Virginia are used freely by Congressmen and Federal employees, who buy cheap gasoline in the Dis-

trict. The revenues of Virginia and Maryland are cheated out of hundreds of thousands of dollars, if not millions, each year by what seems to be impudent misconduct on the part of Congress in permitting the District of Columbia to be the chief paradise of gasoline bootlegging. This indeed is not one of the major issues that affect the country as a whole, but it is symptomatic. President Hoover would have been glad to overhaul many abuses that snuggle under the wings of the Capitol. But Congress refused to give him the free hand that he needed. It is a good time now to speak out in meeting; and we shall see what will happen when the large and clear Democratic majorities in both Houses take up the work of the Seventy-third Congress.

Let Us Demand Honest Kinds of Taxation

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WE WOULD DO BETTER not to expect any immediate revenue help from a beer tax. A sales tax could be levied that would yield at least one billion dollars of annual reve-

nue, without hurting any consumer of goods entering into common use. The gasoline tax in the states is, of course, a sales tax on a single commodity. The proceeds are used in the main for building highways and keeping them up. Railroads among other large tax-payers are no longer in most states paying taxes to build highways for the use of commercial trucks and omnibuses that take away the local freight and passenger business. Some way will be found in the near future to protect the railroads from unfair treatment in this and other respects.

But meanwhile the American people must return to honesty as the basic principle of taxation. Under the lead of political demagogues and a very shallow school of so-called "economists," our tax laws, since the war, have been so devised as to concentrate the burden on the fewest possible people, and to relieve the great mass of voters, who receive practically all the benefits of government while exempt from any share at all in the expenses. These forms of taxation are not wholly responsible for the present plight of business, with widespread unemployment; but they are to an appreciable extent the cause of our troubles. We have levied confiscatory taxes in times of peace that could be justified

only in the exigencies of war. No other country has a tax that is so false in its principles and so mischievous in its effects as our tax on "capital gains and losses." As long as there were rising markets, Uncle Sam was standing over the stock ticker with bulging eyes, and sitting in with the speculators to get his share when they reckoned up their week's winnings. His interference by confiscatory taxation created that mental inhibition that kept honest investors from a wise shifting of their stocks to the purchase of safe bonds, when the market was getting out of bounds. He did indeed clean up immense sums by virtue of his levy upon incomes in the "higher brackets," and by other devices equally opprobrious.

But during the past three years he

has had to take his share of punishment. Individuals once wealthy are now poor; and industrial corporations as a rule have not been earning enough to pay their running expenses. Confiscatory income taxes, as a survival from the economic delirium of the Great War, are no longer capable of supporting a four-billion-dollar budget at Washington. It is quite time for the people of the United States to "go honest," and pay their own bills. They can do it with the greatest ease, after the general analogy of the gasoline tax.

There is another form of sales tax which could readily be applied to certain imported commodities now on the free list which do not compete with American products. We are consuming annually one and one-half billions of pounds of coffee in this country. In former times, for strictly revenue purposes we levied a tax of five cents a pound on coffee, ten cents a pound on tea, and perhaps one cent a pound on sugar. Some politicians started the cry of a "free breakfast table," and this sounded rather plausible and caught the popular fancy. The users of cigarettes and tobacco are paying almost half a billion dollars a year into the Federal treasury. The users of coffee could pay something like one hundred millions, conveniently levied at the ports of entry, and they would never feel the difference. Those who objected to the tax could slightly dilute their coffee.

We are not excited on this question of the coffee tax; but we may remind our readers that coffee rather than beer is now and will remain the favorite American beverage. Every man, woman and child in the United States on the average drinks at least three cups of coffee each day. If we are to get an internal revenue tax of from \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 from beer, those who prefer coffee could readily afford to pay a tax of \$100,000,000. Tea could pay one tenth as much.

How Much Can Expenses Be Reduced?

THERE SHOULD BE great economies in expenditure at Washington, but it will be hard to beat the lobbies and to get the fraud and humbug out of the appropriation bills.

The Democrats have promised to reduce Washington expenditures by twenty-five per cent. This will mean a cool billion dollars lopped off. We are afraid their hero-



By Winsor McKay, in the New York American

WHY NOT USE THE MACHINE?

ism in convention at Chicago will not be sustained by their large majorities in both Houses of the next Congress. But we shall not hesitate to remind them of

their pledges as a party.

We are printing some detailed lists and summaries elsewhere showing changes in the Senate and in state governorships due to the elections of November 8, and also relative party strength in the House of Representatives. Democrats in the Senate will not have to reckon with those Adullamites who have been their recent allies, for they have a clear and strong majority over regular Republicans and the insurgent group. It will be a great relief to everybody to have the Democrats take the chairmanships and run the Senate. The bargaining between regular Republicans and western insurgents for chairmanships of important committees has been a disgrace to both groups; and the results of it have been harmful to the Hoover Administration.

Democrats, Banks, and **Business**

THE NEW PRESIDENT of the American Bankers' Association is Mr. Francis H. Sisson, Vice-President of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York. Our readers in

times past have had the benefit of Mr. Sisson's frank and clear statements about financial and business conditions, and he has been mindful of them again in contributing to this number a summary statement about our American banking system as it has gone through the financial storms of the years immediately behind us. He also makes suggestions looking to improvement in the banking laws. This is a subject that will come before Congress in the session this winter, although broader phases of it may be deferred until the government is in the hands of a single party strongly entrenched.

It will be remembered that the Federal Reserve system, the Underwood tariff, and some reforms in the laws relating to business were moved along to conclusions with firmness and rapidity during the first Administration of President Wilson. This was because there was harmonious coöperation between the Administration and the coördinate law-making branch. We may fairly hope that something of this kind may result from the fullness of the Democratic victory. As regards legislation affecting business, whether banks, railroads, or industrial corporations, much will depend upon the advisers with whom President-elect Roosevelt will surround himself. President Wilson did not announce his Cabinet until the eve of his inauguration in March. It has been reported that President-elect Roosevelt would prefer to make some early announcements. But he will certainly think it best to wait until January. The newspapers have amused themselves by offering tentative lists. Good "Cabinet material" is abundant. Most of the names suggested in the press are those of men in whom the country has confidence.

Some Democrats whose campaign efforts were more belligerent than judicious may be disappointed to find politics in abeyance. No man has been mentioned for Secretary of State in the new Cabinet, so far as we are aware, who is not a friend of Secretary Stimson. Our article in the November number on American Foreign Policy would probably have the approval of any man whom Mr. Roosevelt would consider. It is perhaps true that no man has been mentioned for the Treasury who has not been actually helping Mr. Mills.

The Hoover Administration is not responsible for certain policies, such as those adopted by the Farm Board, that were the result of action by both parties in Congress. Unified party control after March 4 may prove advantageous, provided the party submits to wise and careful leadership. It can do nothing valuable by the mere magic of a party name. But it can profit by the country's mistakes, and can build upon the new foundations already well laid for business recovery. Party leaders in the two Houses will not wish to break away from this new Administration group of next year; and it is reasonable to think that with their large working majorities they can decide upon policies, and bring questions to vote, without those deadlocks and delays from which we have suffered in the recent past.

The Dastardly Tax on Farm Lands

TURNING FROM THE Washington scene, it is well to remember that we have many new Governors eager to lead in the improvement of state conditions. About forty

Governors in 1933 will be Democrats. Most of the legislatures will soon be in session. Our farmers have suffered more from local taxes on the assessed valuation of their property than from any single thing that could be remedied by action at Washington. Our taxes on the capital value of farms and real estate would be infamous if they were not so ridiculous. No other country has so stupid a system of taxation. Farmers have had to pay considerable sums this year to support their local governments, when their farming operations have been carried on at less than actual cost. Local government in agricultural states could be provided at one-tenth of present budgets. The tax on farms could be remitted entirely. Farm mortgages could be refunded through some of the new credit agencies, at a low rate of interest on a fifty-year time basis, like some issues of governmental and railroad bonds. The farmers have borne their voke of taxation because it has somehow not occurred to them and their leaders that they could shake it off and be free. Perhaps some of our legislatures in 1933 will emancipate the farmers. It can be done easily, just as soon as mental obsessions are cleared away. The trouble is due to a traditional system that has been taken for granted. It is hard for slaves to find faith enough to believe in the possibility of freedom.

An Authority, on Booms

THERE IS NO ARTICLE in our present number of more evident timeliness than that which is contriband Depressions uted by Mr. Frederic A. Delano on "Our Recent Crisis and the

Future." A careful diagnosis of the boom period, and the reaction that began with the collapse of 1929, is followed in Mr. Delano's article by some wise and restrained suggestions for safeguarding the prosperity that may now come back to us by degrees, though not by leaps and bounds. Mr. Delano's public spirit has been well tested throughout his career; and his balanced judgment has been an asset in many enterprises. When he left college he entered upon a railroad career, choos-He climbed the ladder ing to begin at the bottom. rapidly, to a high place among railway officials. President Wilson appointed him a member of the original Federal Reserve Board in 1913, with a six-year term,

but he resigned in the summer of 1918 to enter the army, as he was approaching his fifty-fifth birthday. He served with General Atterbury as an officer in the transportation department in France.

Since the war his time has been given to one useful service after another. We do not like to use the word "public" so often; but in Mr. Delano's case it is hard to avoid such terms as "public spirit" and "public service." Referring to Mr. Delano last month, it was stated in this periodical that he is now living at Washington as chairman of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, is a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, and is a Federal Reserve Bank Director. No man is in a better position to think clearly about the affairs of the country, whether he is on duty at Washington or spending autumnal days in his permanent home at Newburgh, N. Y.

That the author of our article is an uncle of Franklin Delano Roosevelt may be stated without our intending to give it any political significance. We had put the article in type, with unusual appreciation, some days before the election; and it would have suited our purposes just as well if the Republicans had carried the day. Mr. Delano is the valued President of the American Civic Association, which devotes its efforts to the encouragement of plans and projects for the permanent improvement alike of cities and countryside, especially in physical aspects that look to the future.

Some Pertinent Topics Discussed This Month

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SEVERAL OTHER ARTICLES among our features this month, besides those of Mr. Sisson and Mr. Delano, relate to business conditions. Mr. Stuart writes about the Gov-

ernment suit against a group of bituminous coal companies that had united to protect everybody against the waste of over-production. That the Government should pounce upon them in deference to the anti-trust laws may be necessary from the standpoint of the Department of Justice, because those laws are actually upon the statute books. Our own opinion is that the Sherman anti-trust-law was drafted as a political makeshift at the moment of its adoption, and that it has never been justified by any of its applications.

Last month there was pending a Government suit against the Radio Corporation of America. We are not in a position to state the principles involved or to discuss the facts of the case. We may merely remark at this time that such situations could be dealt with as a rule more effectively by business men using their own means of adjustment than by governmental attacks based upon legal and judicial interpretations of the anti-trust laws.

A joint board of capable men representing railroads and commercial users of public highways has been trying to work out some plans for composing different points of view. This has been done in England, and represents the proper method for us in the United States. Another group of distinguished citizens, including Calvin Coolidge and Alfred E. Smith, has been studying the railroad situation; and its report will have proved to be useful and influential.

General Frank T. Hines, head of the Veterans' Bureau at Washington, writes for us this month regarding adjusted compensation, popularly known as the "bonus." This subject has a direct bearing upon the promise of

the Democratic party to reduce the national budget by twenty-five per cent. Mr. Charles Lathrop Pack, our best known authority upon trees and the practise of forestry, contributes an article that tells clearly how much can be done everywhere in the country to utilize waste or impoverished lands by bringing back their original forest covering. Also he shows how reforestation can contribute in considerable measure toward giving employment, and relieving depressed conditions.

While Mr. Pack sees the problems of forestry in these economic aspects, he is also in the heartiest sympathy with all that can be done to promote the use of trees in parks, along roadsides, and in every way possible for the adornment of out-of-doors America. He would, therefore, approve highly of Mr. Bennett's article (which we are publishing with beautiful illustrations) upon roadside beauty as a matter of public policy and interest. Mr. Bennett is a technical and practical authority on that subject and has direction of the beautiful highway improvements of Wayne County, Michigan, that environ the city of Detroit.

His article tells of activities in a number of states and it will appeal especially to the organization of which Mrs. Lawton of Glens Falls, New York, is president, and to the Garden Clubs throughout the country. They are now actively associated with this movement for making American roadsides, in so far as possible, one vast network of parkways with trees, shrubs, and flowers to replace the ugliness of raw banks and unsightly billboards. Improvements of this kind are more a matter of sentiment, purpose and planning than of large expenditure of money. Much can be done by voluntary effort.

Disarmament and Debts

IN THESE editorial comments we are not dealing this month, in a direct way, with European and Far Eastern topics. Our readers will find in the article by Mr.

Frank H. Simonds an exceedingly well-informed analysis of the German elections that occurred on Sunday, November 6. Mr. Simonds presents in brief space a better statement of existing economic and political conditions in Great Britain than we have seen elsewhere. His article concludes with an explanation of the French disarmament proposals, about which many American readers have been wishing to be instructed.

It had been intimated, somewhat confidentially, that the British and other European governments were carefully abstaining from fresh arguments and negotiations on their indebtedness to the United States, but that the subject would be opened in a public way on the day after our votes were counted. This turned out to be true, with the date extended for a day. We have only to remark that the question of foreign debts cannot be treated by the Hoover Administration in disregard of the incoming Democratic Government. The same thing may be said with regard to French proposals, which seek to pin the United States down to some logical extension of the so-called "Stimson doctrine."

Thus far the conversion of Great Britain into a high protectionist country on the imperial lines laid down in the Ottawa Conference is not happily accepted. In proportion to population, we have now slightly more unemployed people than one finds in Great Britain. But the situation there has been chronic since the war, while ours has become acute only within the last two years.

MRS. AUGUST BELMONT

Chairman of the Women's Division of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee of New York.

RELIEF: The Great Problem

o word weighs so heavily upon the consciousness of America today as unemployment. It is a relatively new word in its present, familiar, almostomnipresent rôle. Think back three or four or five years. Do you remember the word "Unemployment" sounding almost constantly in your ears?

No. This dismal word, and the plague of suffering it stands for, have swept upon us much as the War did. We first heard about them from abroad. Yet before we knew much about either, each in turn had

suddenly became a menacing reality.

As we face this third winter of devastation, it is almost needless to proclaim that unemployment with its attendant destitution and misery constitutes the greatest and the gravest problem confronting our nation. Out-of-a-job too often means hungry children, the bitter cold of unheated flats and houses, the gloom of candle-lit homes where gas or electricity is no longer counted a necessity, desperately anxious and often physically ill men and women.

For the City of New York alone the figures representing the numbers and needs of the jobless are appalling. Of the 3,000,000 men and women who normally have jobs, one-third are unemployed. Those who will require at least some degree of assistance, if they are to be saved from utter destitution, number 200,000. Of these no less than 100,000 are the breadwinners of families who have exhausted the last shreds of their resources, and they accordingly stand for 500,000 men, women, and children altogether.

They are as numerous as the population of a city the size of Buffalo. Imagine such a city, peopled exclusively with unemployed, destitute families. It would also include at least 20,000 jobless women and girls and perhaps 15,000 single men. Such are the proportions of the unemployment problem in New York alone. Fortunately, however, there is nowhere such an undiluted concentration of misery as I have pictured in this imaginary city.

Unemployment in New York is merely typical of conditions elsewhere. Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago; big cities and small, from coast to coast, have been struck by the same scourge. Unemployment is a national and even an international problem, of unprecedented magnitude and gravity.

No one with a sympathetic understanding of what



this all means would have the heart to review this calamitous scene unless he or she had faith in the ability of the nation to rise to the crisis, and somehow, in the end, save itself. But both immediate and sustained action will be needed to fulfill this faith.

Brought down to the individual, the present emergency demands the following from every patriotic citi-

zen of the nation:

First: Prompt and generous sharing of salary, income, or capital itself—if capital funds exceed the reasonable needs of the giver. Contributions must be judiciously distributed by the individual citizen so as to afford support to established welfare agencies, as well as to funds designated for purely emergency relief.

Second: Not only for the good name of democratic government, but perhaps for its ultimate survival, each of us should in a generous and studious attitude review the basic problems which must be largely solved if the causes of the present emergency—and consequently, possible future crises—are to be removed. I believe that these include a conclusive balancing of our national budget and a settlement of the inter-Allied war debts.

To this end let all of us, no matter what our political faith or allegiance of the past, join with our President in pledging the President-elect our continuing patriotism. Let us declare a moratorium on criticism.

Let us acknowledge that the besetting sins of the human race are selfishness, greed, and hypocrisy. Let us admit that the first two are largely accountable for our difficulties, and that greed must be curbed and selfishness penalized, either by voluntary forebearance or by imposed regulation.

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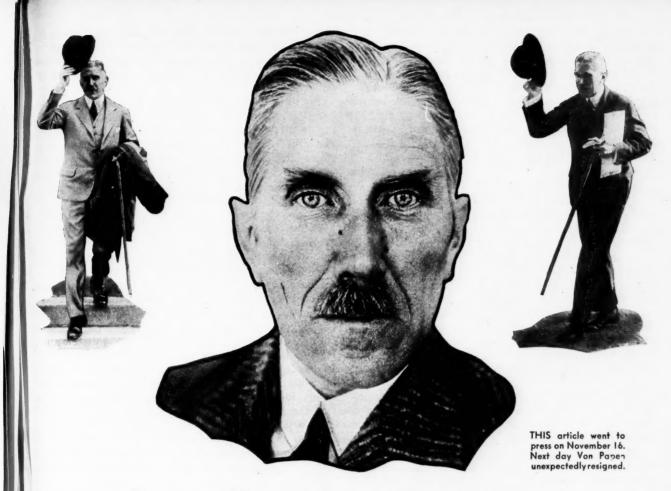
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The coming of a new life—the shaping of a new and better manner of life—is painful. But I believe our progress will in the end prove worth the suffering it has cost. With all the difficulties that surround us today, I would rather be alive now than at any period in the world's history. The United States is still a country of magnificent resources and I have faith in its people.

In the words of a play that has been running in London more than a year, I offer Americans this toast: "To the future—May this country of ours, that we love so much, one day find dignity, greatness, and peace again".



Chancellor Franz von Papen

By ROGER SHAW

CHANCELLOR FRANZ VON PAPEN is not, strictly speaking, a Prussian Junker. He is a Rhenish nobleman whose cultural background is derived from the Latin West rather than from the Slavic East. Your typical Junker is a Protestant of the strictest sort—a hard-riding and Spartan agrarian. Von Papen, on the other hand, is a cultivated and affable Catholic, whose private interests are industrial. He is, in short, a product rather of the Renaissance than of the Reformation

Now 52 years of age, his early career was spent as a Uhlan cavalry officer. Later he served at Washington as military attaché of the Imperial German Embassy. He was extremely popular in American society due to his kindliness and natural good manners. Then came the World War, and with it floods of propaganda and cases of attempted sabotage. The occupants of all the foreign embassies became involved to a greater or lesser extent, and young Von Papen obeyed orders with no more than a patriotic zeal. He was unlucky, and in 1915 was recalled at the request of the harassed President Wilson. With him went Captain Karl Boy-Ed, German naval attaché, and also Dr. Constantin Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador. Count von Bernstorff lingered on, as German ambassador, until the opening months of 1917.

Upon his return to Germany, Von Papen acted as staff officer on the Somme front with considerable skill; then was dispatched to Turkey where he served the Osmanli as chief-of-staff to the Fourth Turkish Army. Again he did his duty with courage and tact, despite the difficulties which Oriental wiles placed in the way of honest Teutonic efficiency. Then came the defeat, the peace, and the downfall of the Empire.

Von Papen came home to find that his officer caste was tolerated politely enough, but that under the Republic its privileged position was gone. Von Papen, who was wealthy, devoted himself to his West German industrial enterprises. He was Privy Chamberlain to Pope Pius XI; and also principal owner of the powerful Germania, organ of the Catholic Center party. He later entered the Prussian Diet as a Centrist member, but his political career there was quiet and undistinguished. Von Papen was better remembered in America than he was in Germany.

On May 31, 1932, Chancellor Heinrich Bruening was removed from office by President von Hindenburg—chiefly because the liberal Bruening had wished to settle numbers of unemployed upon the vast estates of the East Prussian Junkers. Von Papen was called in to succeed Bruening in office. The world was astonished, but there were reasons for this.

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Bruening was a member of the Catholic Center, and so was Von Papen. This would, in theory at least, propitiate the Rhinelanders and Bavarians. Further, Von Papen had family and business connections with the French Comité des Forges—industrialists who dominate the anti-German right in the French Chamber of Deputies. Lastly, Von Papen was an aristocrat, an officer, and acceptable to the army chiefs of the German Reichswehr. He was a member of the Berlin Herrenklub—"gentlemen's club"—which is significant.

MOST GERMAN political parties represent some specific class or economic interest. The Center alone is a cross-section organization, whose Catholicity binds together noble and peasant. Bruening has a trade-union background and is a liberal. Von Papen is a plutocrat and a conservative. Von Papen, for his alleged treachery to Bruening, was promptly expelled from the Center party; just as Ramsay MacDonald had been expelled from the British Labor party the year previous. Bruening had received a vote of confidence from the Reichstag prior to his removal by special emergency decree; and Von Papen was arbitrarily appointed with hardly a vestige of Reichstag support. He called a July election, and was voted down in a new Reichstag by 513-32 on September 12. It was the heaviest defeat, probably, in all parliamentary history. Just previous to the vote, however, he had dissolved the Reichstag and called for yet another election within sixty days—as he was constitutionally bound to do.

Frau Martha von Papen, graceful wife of the Chancellor, is the daughter of René von Boch-Galhau, owner of a famous ceramic firm in the Saar area. She has wealthy and aristocratic French relatives, including two of the families especially prominent in French heavy industry—the Calhyaus and the Fabviers. The Chancellor, whose private interests are in the Saar and nearby Westphalia, is a determined advocate of Franco-German economic coöperation. The pair are well liked in France, where the Chancellor's suavity, his perfect French, and his business connections, seem to please a naturally critical people and its rather querulous press. This is surprising, for Von Papen has shown himself far more demanding internationally than were his moderate liberal predecessors—whom France tended to slight.

Berlin high society, too, is delighted by the Von Papens. The Von Hindenburgs are quiet people who eschew social functions; the former trade-union ministers naturally ignored such frivolities. But Fraü Martha von Papen, perhaps more French than German, is in her element. She is charming; the Chancellor is cultured and distinguished.

The bucolic old king of Saxony, lately deceased, was once offered a fingerbowl after lunch. "Take it away," he growled. "Those contraptions are meant for the fine people." It is doubtful whether the Von Papens would have appreciated this sturdy proletarian monarch of the royal house of Wettin; but the Saxon king's exsubjects adored him to the last.

The Von Papen cabinet contains Von Schleicher, Von Gayl, Von Neurath, Von Krosigk, and Von Braun. This is extremely important, for since the revolution of 1918 German politics have been in the hands of intellectuals and of trade-unionists. Outside of Von Hindenburg, there has been scarcely a Von in public life. Even the Hitler Fascists, the most extreme of reactionaries, are

almost Von-less. The Von Papen régime—monarchist in theory, republican in practice—favors a curtailment in the expense of social-welfare work and a more determined foreign policy—as evidenced in the matter of war reparations at Lausanne, and of arms equality.

One thing is clear however; that the German liberals infinitely prefer the comparative toleration of Von Papen to the strong-arm fanaticism of Adolf Hitler. The old German Empire, whose great tradition Von Papen and his associates carry on, was surprisingly liberal as compared to the up-to-date Fascist doctrines which Hitlerites have imported from across the snowy Alps. Under the Hohenzollerns there was freedom of speech, of the press, of association, of elections. There were also grave defects (as in Junker privilege and the Prussian three-class voting system); but such abuses pale to insignificance before the regimentation of militant Fascism. Goethe, had he visited the polls on November 6, would have voted for Colonel Franz von Papen and against Handsome Adolf Hitler.

Evidently a large number of German voters shared this hypothetical feeling, for the Hitler vote was two million less than it had been in the July election. Hitler's Reichstag representation declined from 230 to 195 seats, and it may now be predicted that the Nazi landslide has been checked. Hitlerism is ceasing to gather momentum as a crusade, and is degenerating into the prosaic status of just another political party. Thus departs the glamor and the romance which placed German youth of both sexes upon the Hitler bandwagon. Big business, which openly financed the Hitler movement, has come to prefer the current economic policies of Von Papen.

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The pauper left-wing of the Hitlerites evidently voted Communist, for the Reds increased their Reichstag representation from 89 to 100. The Communists carried Berlin by a plurality of 140,000 votes, with the Hitlerites trailing. The plutocratic right-wing of the Hitlerites seems to have gone over to the conservative Nationalists of Dr. Alfred Hugenberg-for these diehards increased their representation from 37 to 51 seats. The petty bourgeois elements, which of course predominate in the Hitler movement, remained stolidly loyal to their fiery leader. The new Reichstag will contain 582 members, so divided that it will be extremely difficult to provide a parliamentary majority who can agree upon a successor to Von Papen. Hence Colonel Franz may quite conceivably continue in office. (Mr. Frank Simonds ably analyzes the situation in the following article.)

Von Papen proposes changes in the Weimar Constitution in the interest of stability. These would include, presumably: responsibility of the Chancellor to the President instead of to the Reichstag (just as Secretary Stimson is responsible to President Hoover, and not to Congress, for his tenure of office); an upper house with increased power to veto legislation; raising of the voting age from 20 to 25, to eliminate youthful radicals; an interlocking directorate between Prussia and the Reich, through a common Chancellor; the abolition of proportional representation, which encourages a multiplicity of parties.

When twelve million bourgeois Hitlerites are deadlocked with twelve million proletarian Marxists in the throes of the class struggle, it is time for the Man-from-Mars to step in. Colonel Franz von Papen is the Manfrom-Mars. He plays the part of Bonaparte in 1799. In Germany, England, and France

By FRANK H. SIMONDS

Two days before the American people went to the polls, the Germans for a second time in the present year voted in a parliamentary test. No contrast could be more striking than that between the American and German elections. With us the choice was between two parties equally loyal to the existing political order, and between two candidates similarly

dedicated to the preservation of democratic institutions. Moreover, so far as the security and tranquility of other nations were concerned, the decision between Roosevelt and Hoover was without significance.

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In the Reich, by contrast, the Germans were voting in an election in which their choice was between parties representing republican, monarchial, and revolutionary doctrines. And, in the same way, since all orderly political and economic recuperation in Europe depends upon the existence of a strong and orderly Germany, all Europe was gravely concerned with the outcome of the balloting.

That outcome was, on the whole, disquieting. It was disturbing for two reasons. In the first place no majority was established. Among the 582 members of the new Reichstag there will reign a confusion as complete as of old. Among the five great parties which collected all but a handful of the new members, the divisions are so impassable that majority government remains out of the question.

In addition, while the world press at first was impressed with the sensational check to the Hitler Nazis, satisfaction over this turn was presently dispelled by realization that the organization championing the Red Revolution of Moscow emerged with an impressive gain. Thus, while the republican parties registered a disheartening loss and the monarchial parties a small gain, the two parties of revolution—Nazis and Communists—controlled 295 seats in a chamber-of 582.

The Hindenburg-Papen combination which had ousted the old Bruening cabinet and replaced it by soldiers, Junkers and industrialists, who dominated in the prewar era, had forced an election in the summer and then dissolved the new Reichstag to escape a vote of no confidence. They had hoped thereby to achieve a consolidation of considerable elements about the Print and the Chancellor. But their progress was much ted by a gain of no more than 14 seats, and the cabinet now controls but 51 representatives in the new house of 582. The progress of the campaign demonstrated that irreconcilable as were Socialists, Communists, Catho-

EQUALITY OF
ARMAMENTS
"Now that I've made you
as big a gun as he has, I
hope you are satisfied."
From Notenkraker
(Amsterdam).



lics, and Hitlerites on all other questions, they were agreed in opposition to the Papen cabinet.

The rise of Communist strength, moreover, constituted a grave warning to Papen. His strategy had been comprehended in a plan to dissolve hostile Reichstags, after election and before they could vote him out of office, until such time as the various party leaders wearied and out of weariness submitted to the present government. But although it was plain in the election returns that Hitler had lost his magic (the Nazi strength declined by nearly 2,000,000 votes), a Communist increase of 750,000 clearly indicated the direction dissatisfaction might take if new elections were forced.

On the other hand the situation seemed to defy solution. Of the 582 members of the new Reichstag, 195 were Nazis and 100 Communists. Over against these parties of revolution the republican parties (the Social-Democrats, the Catholic groups, and the Democrats) counted but 211. As for the monarchial groups, the Nationalists and the People's (Stresemann's old party) counted but 62. The once numerous and important "splinter" parties had no more than 16 seats.

I append the following table, which indicates progress over the years since 1928 in four elections. I have excluded the so-called "splinter" parties, which have disappeared, and confined myself to three groups; republican, reactionary, and revolutionary.

In the republican group I have counted the Social-Democrats, the Catholics, and the Democrats. In the reactionary, the Nationalists and the People's party (al-

though in Stresemann's time the latter worked with the republicans); and in the revolutionary group I have put the Communists and the Nazis of Hitler. The figures indicate the seats held in four Reichstags.

Parties	1928	1930	1932(1)	1932(2)
Republican	256	250	234	211
Reactionary	118	71	44	62
Revolutionary:	66	184	319	295

In that simple table it seems to me there is a perfect barometer of the progress of doctrines of violence in the Reich in four short years. It seems a clear evidence that the majority of the German people, disillusioned in respect of the republic but still unwilling to return to the empire, are seeing in the doctrines of Hitler or of Lenin a solution of their miseries.

One detail in recent history should not, however, be overlooked. In the street railway strike in Berlin in the first week of November, the Communists and the Nazis made common cause. Moreover, the best informed of my German friends have always insisted that when, as was inevitable, the Hitler movement began to disintegrate, the greater part of its membership would join the Communists and not the Nationalists. For between the social program of Reds and Nazis the resemblances are striking, although one is in foreign affairs ultra-nationalist and the other internationalist.

What remains the danger, after election even more than before, is that the Papen government or a new cabinet resting on the same slight foundations will feel itself compelled to protect itself against the ultranationalism of Hitler by an uncompromising attitude in foreign affairs. Indeed, even if Germany returns to the disarmament conference, her stay may not be long and her demands are bound to be stiff. But without full German coöperation, nothing can be attained.

> Militarist Di-FRENCH "Now Herriot! plomacy: Tell the Tell the Germans your views on disarmament." The Premier, it seems, has good intentions despite his bitter Generals.

> > (Munich).



Y/HILE GERMANY was absorbed in its election. in Britain attention was focussed upon riots brought about by the "hunger-march" upon London of some thousands of unemployed. These disturbances were soon checked and the marchers returned home after patent failure, but the episode has more than passing significance. Like the brief mutiny in the fleet a year ago, at the moment of the financial crisis which drove Britain off the gold standard, it supplies a disquieting glimpse of British circumstances.

In reality the drastic and far-reaching change in British government, which was marked by the arrival of a National Coalition cabinet last year, has visibly failed to produce any material gain in the British economic situation. The budget has been balanced, a check has been put upon certain official expenditures, but in the one field that is important, namely foreign trade, the hoped-for turn of the tide has not come. Britain is buying far less abroad than before, but the world is buying even less of British goods.

Unemployment remains anchored about the 3,000,000 mark, and along with this sign of the shrinkage of British markets goes the ever mounting evidence of the similar decline of British returns from its foreign investments. Meantime American attention had for some months been fixed upon the results of the Ottawa Conference, and the effects of the new tariff arrangements between the fractions of the British Empire upon American trade.

What these results may eventually be, it is too early to forecast. That the British themselves have already begun to have doubts is clear, as the secession of the Liberals from the Coalition cabinet has already disclosed. The gloomy words of Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, although in part modified by later and fuller extracts from his speech, indicate his pessimistic view and cannot be overlooked. A

> year of great and unparalleled effort has not resulted in any material improvement in the British situation.

No one expects any British revolution; the mobs which gathered about Whitehall were swiftly and sufficiently dealt with. Nevertheless they clearly show that there is a rising tide of national unrest. We in the United States have had barely three years of real depression, and only one winter in which actual suffering was wide-

religion

spread in the cities. Britain has borne the strain of unemployment and hard times with very little interruption ever since the close of the war. There has been a progressive decay in many industries. A young generation is now growing up, large numbers of which have never had a chance to work.

Meantime the collapse of foreign trade, the freezing of foreign investments, the world-wide moratorium in debt payments, have inflicted disproportionate losses upon the British. Driven by the example of other countries and led by Tories convinced of the efficacy of an imperial system of tariff walls, the British have abandoned their tradition of free trade and have gone in for tariffs. Concomitantly they have been forced off the gold standard and even this step, which promised at least temporary benefits to the export trade, has failed to bring a lift.

Thus we have seen in recent weeks, on the one

hand a swift drop in sterling almost to the low point of a year ago and on the other, riots in London. The great wave of optimism which followed the formation of the National government last year has spent itself. The coalition has begun to break up, the recent municipal elections disclosed at least a slight turn of the tide against the Tories. In Great Britain then, as in Germany, recent events have been disturbing and the immediate outlook is unpropitious. In the British Isles no political upheaval is conceivable, in Germany it may come; but if the British edifice is politically sound, the economic structure is still visibly weakening. The optimism of a year ago seems now to have been premature. And, so far as the tariff and the Ottawa Conference is concerned, the promised profits still remain problematical.

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MY REMAINING space shall be devoted to comment upon the French disarmament proposals, which in late October made a certain noise in the world. Despite the hope they aroused in certain directions, I do not believe much will come of them. On certain terms France has agreed to changes which might result in a very slight reduction of her own military forces, but not in the number of men she purposes to train annually. For what she proposes is to retain the conscription system, but to reduce the training period of the conscripts from a year to nine months. And, by inference, the German claim of equality is met by the possible substitution by the Germans of a conscript army for their

own present professional force.

But the French proposal is hedged about by innumerable conditions. The old Tardieu proposal of an international air force is replaced by the still older scheme of a League of Nations army made up of national contingents trained at home but available for League use. New pledges are asked of the Continental European countries, binding them to assist in restraining and coercing an aggressor. Neither Great Britain nor the United States are asked to make any military commitments, but both are asked to abandon the old conception of neutral rights.

Herriot's proposal follows the Hoover-Stimson statements of last summer to their logical conclusion. Mr. Stimson has said that the ratification of the Kellogg Pact automatically bound signatory powers to go into conference in time of crisis and also abolished neutrality. Since war had been made illegal, he reasoned that no nation could have legal rights when a state of war existed between two peoples. It would not have a right to trade with both but, on the contrary, it would have a duty not to assist the law-breaking nation, either by financial or economic means.

What Herriot is now after is to have the United States put this Stimson interpretation in writing, to have the Senate agree that in case any nation shall be guilty of an aggression (that is, of a violation of the Kellogg Pact) America will agree not to insist upon its right to trade with the criminal country, but instead will recognize the blockade or other punitive means employed to coerce the guilty nation. If America does not interfere, Herriot believes the League forces will be sufficient to

Chancellor von Papen finds the poor German on crutches. He gayly substitutes bayonets to support the invalid. An Austrian jibe at the Von Papen demand for German arms equality. From Der Gotz (Vienna).





deal with the offender. But he does insist in advance that America shall indicate her policy and, within these limits, accept responsibility.

But it is clear that this French proposal reopens all the discussion of American relationship to European

questions which closed with the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles by the Senate. And it is also plain that before the United States agreed to take such a step, there would be a long debate in the Senate and much delay. Moreover, stripped of all details, the Herriot proposal shows France standing where she has always stood in the matter of security and resolved not to modify her present military forces without new guarantees.

The French proposal may serve as a bait to bring Germany back to the Arms Conference, although I doubt it. But before the proposal can lead to any results, there must be long negotiations and eventual reference to the United States Senate. Moreover, as I have said, the French proposal does not reduce numbers materially. On the contrary if Germany substituted conscripts for her Reichswehr, she would double the size of her army to attain parity with France. For France means to continue to train all of her male population.

Nor would any real reduction in costs occur; for my French army friends tell me that to train recruits for nine months instead of a year there would be required an intensive system of military education and the creation of vast army camps. The recruits would no longer be able, because of their brief time of service, to participate in annual manoeuvres. In sum, while it is impossible to doubt Herriot's personal good faith, it is essential to remember he is not a military man but a liberal compelled, if he is to retain his place, to make concessions to the Socialists in the French Chamber.

Now, as last winter, the disarmament situation is net. No government in Europe dares to refuse to discuss the question, but neither does any government dare to reduce its own means of defense.

COAL, and the Anti-Trust Law



By Hine, from Ewing Galloway

By CHARLES E. STUART

be permitted, somehow, to agree upon planned production? It seems to be one way to avoid chaos in times like these. But present laws, which served a worthy purpose in their time, now stand in the way.

the odds heavily against them.

The situation in the bituminous coal industry is well worth a little study, for its own sake but also for the bearing it is bound to have upon the course of central economic planning in this country.

The crux of the problem that the soft coal industry has to solve is over-development. Prior to the World War, bituminous coal mining developed in an orderly fashion, the annual production of coal rising in easy stages from approximately 200 million tons in 1900 to 400 million tons in 1914. Then came the war, and as a result of its stimulating influence the pro-

ductive capacity of our coal mines rose to 750 million tons annually. In many other industries this expanded capacity would have done little harm. Normal increases in demand would in time have taken up the slack. Inefficient producers would have suffered losses, but the industry as a whole would have continued on a profitmaking basis.

Due to the extending use of gas, oil, and water power, however, and to the constantly improved efficiency with which coal is consumed in power plants, the demand for bituminous coal is not increasing. The average yearly consumption during the last ten non-depression years is about 450 million tons. Production will probably be below 300 million tons during the present year.

Furthermore, mines can be opened almost anywhere in the coal regions at a relatively low expense. Numerous small operations are started with the slightest encouragement, and often with none at all. Coal from such mines is naturally sold at low prices, and to defend themselves the larger mines cut below them. Retaliation follows, with prices falling still lower.

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COAL HAS THEREFORE been selling below the cost of production. The great majority of mines have been working at a net loss for the past ten years. It has been impossible to pay a return on the ten billion dollars invested in soft coal properties, and equally impossible to keep the 500,000 miners normally employed by the industry continuously at work, or to pay those who are employed a living wage in certain districts.

No employers of labor are under more severe criticism than the so-called "coal barons." Indeed, in no other industry are labor conditions so deplorable as they are in many sections of the coal industry. But the coal barons have their backs to the wall. In times of prosperity they have paid high wages. But the intense competition to which they are subjected, destroying profits and forcing many to default on their

N October 3, 1932, Appalachian Coals, Inc.
—a corporation formed by 137 producers of coal in Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee—was held by a United States District Court to be an organization in restraint of trade and therefore entirely illegal.

In itself, this decision is unimportant. It merely adds one more to an already long list of proscribed combinations. But owing to the circumstances under which this particular group of coal operators decided to unite for common action, the Appalachian Coals case promises to become—like the Dred Scott case, which immensely strengthened the foundations of slavery, and the Northern Securities case, which prohibited the merging of competing railroad systems—a monument to a dead idea. The idea in this instance is that it is contrary to the interests of the American people for industries to plan their future along sound economic lines.

We hear a great deal about central planning for industries, though much of it is of an abstract academic nature. Not so with the coal industry, which has reached a point where it must plan its way to economic stability or else face ruin. Necessity is forcing this industry to be a pioneer, to make a way for itself into

so-far unknown country.
The Appalachian Coals

The Appalachian Coals plan represents an initial step in this direction. It has failed to secure the approval of a lower federal court; and it will probably fare no better at the hands of the Supreme Court, to which the case has been appealed, because it runs squarely into the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Thus the issue has become sharply defined. Is paralysis, or progress, to be the fate of our great essential industries? Beyond doubt the next step in our industrial development is central economic planning—planning that will deal with ruinous competition as it does with other destructive forces, that will guard men from devoting their lives and their wealth to an uncontrollable gamble with



from the fact that the lowered earning power of 500,000 people must affect all

business adversely, the consumer is actually paying for the waste and inefficiency with which the soft coal industry, due to circumstances beyond its control, is forced to operate. If the coal industry could properly utilize its facilities, coal could be sold at lower prices than at present and still leave a fair return to both mine owner and miner.

Leaders of the coal industry have long been convinced that a general revival of business-which would solve the present problems of many industries-would not help them. The slightest promise of profit in the sale of coal would be a signal for the opening of many new mines and the reopening of many bankrupt mines, and the cut-throat competitive war would go merrily on. Only by planned economy can order and prosperity be restored to the soft coal mining business. If such planning is successful here, it can be applied to other of our industries that need it badly.

The Appalachian Coals plan was developed by the National Coal Association, about a year ago. Its essential features are: the formation of a single agency

to handle the sale of coal in each of twenty-one districts into which the coal producing areas of the country are divided; and, later, the physical consolidation of the various properties in each district. Its chief objectives are: to lessen duplication of sales effort and the cost of selling; to eliminate competition among a number of sales agencies handling the same coal in the same market; to eliminate undesirable trade practices (such as the shipping of coal on consignment, which often becomes "distress" coal and must be sold for any price obtainable); to standardize sizes, grades, and the preparation of coal; and to prevent wide price fluctuations, for the benefit of both the trade and the consumer.

The first of the district sales agencies to be established was Appalachian Coals, Inc. This was formed in the southern district. Others were laid out in the other districts, to become active if Appalachian Coals,

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Inc., won the suit which the Government promptly brought against it.

The Government contended that Appalachian Coals, Inc., was formed to obtain higher prices, to eliminate competition among its members, and to limit output. On these grounds the Government secured a decision ordering the coal agency to be enjoined from doing business, with its charter revoked.

In other words, under our present laws, prices below production costs, reckless competition, and unrestrained production are all desirable things, even if they lead to the collapse of a great essential industry.

Since the coal industry has done its utmost for the past ten years—even during the nation's most prosperous era—to struggle into a position of stability under these laws, and has failed, to the injury of everyone within the industry and millions outside of it, it seems evident that the laws are wrong and must be changed.

Looking for further plans to help the coal industry, now that a plan believed by its framers to be within the law has to be discarded, we are fortunate to find that Great Britain is in a position similar to ours and has developed a central planning scheme. We can study this British scheme, eliminate the weaknesses that have already developed in it, and adapt it to our conditions.

The following plan is based upon British experience: Individual mines should be grouped together for joint action by geographical districts. Each district should have a governing committee (District Committee) composed of coal owners and operators. National coördination of the work of these District Committees should be secured by a Central Committee, also composed of coal owners and operators.

This Central Committee should estimate, at least three months in advance, the amount of coal that will be sold in the country, and allocate a production quota to each district. The District Committees allocate individual quotas to the mines.

MINIMUM PRICES, below which coal may not be sold, should be fixed by each district. These prices are to be based upon a reasonable working profit to the average colliery.

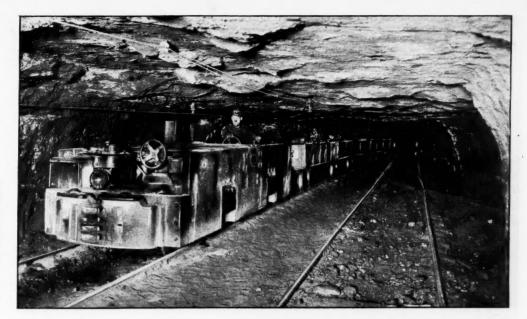
Wages should be considered a separate issue, as they are now in England, and should not be involved in the operations of the production-planning and price-fixing boards. In England the miner receives 83 per cent. of the "proceeds" (that is, the sum left after deducting from the price of coal the cost of production other than wages) and also a definite minimum wage.

Central planning along these lines would put an end to the cut-throat competition which has existed for the past ten years. It would bring about the needed deflation in production facilities by closing down the inefficient mines, and would permit the more efficient mines to develop and improve their facilities, thus lowering production costs. It would help labor by stabilizing working conditions and affording the protection of a minimum wage during dull times.

However, in our planning we must go further than Great Britain is compelled to go; for coal is the only fuel of importance produced in Great Britain, while we have abundant supplies of competitive oil and natural gas. To frame a stability program including coal alone means that these other fuels would cut prices and increase production, thereby making conditions worse than before. This would not only injure the coal industry; but, by over-stimulating the use of gas and oil



HAND LABOR has largely given way to modern equipment, lightening drudgery and increasing tonnage with a corresponding increase in wages. Production methods improved under the stimulus of wartime demand and labor shortage, but engineering skill offers no answer now to the problem of finding markets.



THE MINE MULE of today — fifteen-ton electric locomotive bringing coal to the surface. Electrification has slashed costs, greatly to the benefit of the consumer; but in speeding up production, the industry, in common with the wheat farmer and the automobile manufacturer, now has an oversupply.

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supplies, we would rob our nation of these invaluable and irreplaceable resources at an unduly rapid rate.

It is evident, therefore, that central planning cannot be confined to a single industry. It must embrace all competitive industries. Finally, as a logical and necessary step, it must include all industries. Unless we enter upon central planning with this fact clearly before our eyes, we shall inevitably do more harm than good. We shall impose upon an industry new bonds and shackles that will create losses rather than gains. Better a free and open struggle for existence than an industry part hampered by planned restrictions and part free to do as it pleases.

The great service that the coal business is doing for industry in general is to bring these ultimate consequences of planning sharply into focus, thereby eradicating much loose thinking.

Furthermore, few can be so optimistic as to think that voluntary agreements alone can be enforced without outside authority, even though the agreements are clearly for the good of all. It is human nature to endeavor to secure personal gain by breaking through any system of rules and regulations established for the general good. Hence, while American industry with good reason resents the thought of government "interference", some form of intelligent governmental supervision can be established which will provide the necessary power to draw definite lines and to keep insurgents within these lines.

It must be recognized that the ultimate end of all central planning is not to regulate and curb production but to increase it. We cannot plan merely to make money for ourselves; we must see to it that everyone within our nation receives an ever-increasing supply of desirable goods and commodities. In other words, planning must look forward to an increase in consumption of products. It is this kind of planning on which the welfare of labor and capital equally depends, and which will keep our purchasing power up to the level where we can absorb all we are able to produce.

A difficult program, but by no means a hopeless one. We have solved other difficult problems before. If we are to solve this one, of how to prevent recurring periods of privation to all and ruin to many, we must use the means—the intelligence—that we have used in the past.

We are going to solve this problem, because we must. The continuation of our civilization obviously demands that we cease pyramiding debt on debt, and that we make progress in an orderly fashion and not over periodic heaps of ruined lives and fortunes.

THE COAL INDUSTRY is our most promising leader in this direction. It feels the spur of necessity to do something; it is large enough to work out its plans on a national scale; it is sufficiently compact and well-organized to secure action as a unit; and it is in possession of all the facts on which to base its action.

Its early steps are plain. It must decide upon a plan, probably along lines already sketched, that will curb its ends and permit profitable production. It must extend the plan to include the coöperation of the oil and gas industries—and the oil industry is undoubtedly ready to coöperate to this end. It must press for the revision of legislation which prohibits group agreement to regulate production and control prices. It must find means of enforcing its decisions and safeguarding the public interest. Less comprehensive measures bear little promise of any lasting good.

The idea of central planning is not new. Our large industrial organizations have all been developed and guided through central planning. It is only a question of applying the same methods in a larger way. Russia borrowed this idea and much machinery of its operation from us. Whether it succeeds or fails, its system of industrial planning is bound to be a factor of major importance in the era immediately before us. Americans are opposed to this kind of planning because it was imposed from above. Our ideals demand that progress be made through movements originating within, as with the coal industry.

The coal industry's planning represents an important beginning. In all probability it will have a far-reaching influence on our industrial and political thinking, and not unlikely it will lead us to a higher level of living.

Forests—and Depressions



ROADS like the above eventually become straight concrete-paved highways, pole and sign bordered, and denuded of all natural beauty. Can this be progress?

ITH INCREASING clearness the past three years have brought out new and enlightening trends in the field of forestry. It is significant that this trend has been ever in the direction of greater realism and of clearer insight into the part forestry must ultimately play in the economy of the nation.

Some familiar bugaboos have been laid to rest. For twenty-five years we have been hearing much of an approaching timber famine—a day when the last tree would crash to earth beneath the woodman's axe and we should look in vain for more. Studies during the present year show that the threat of any immediate failure in our wood supply is baseless; but they emphasize the unsatisfactory distribution of our commercial forests, with its attendant burden of high transportation charges necessary to bring forest products over long distances to the centers of consumption. The progressive destruction of our forests through fire and uneconomic cutting is still very real.

The need for sound forestry is still with us.

The great increase in unemployment during the past year has given emphasis to a new phase of forestrynew to America, although long known and practised in

PLANTING TREES—or caring for those already planted by Nature—is a sound public policy. In time of depression our forests can either be neglected, or else made a means of useful employment. Which shall it be?

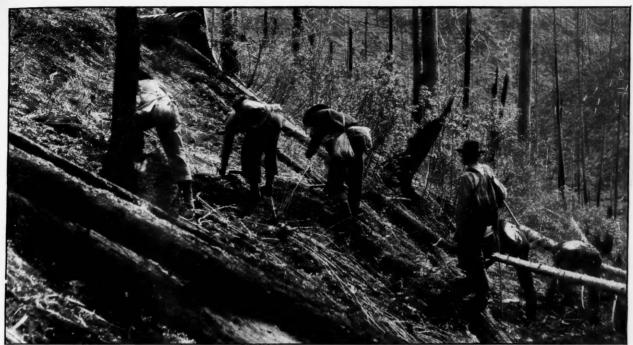
By CHARLES LATHROP PACK

Europe. This is the rôle that the forests can play during critical periods to relieve the burden of unemployment. Through times of depression, European countries instinctively turn to the improvement of their forests as a sound public measure to engage unemployed resources of capital and labor. Until this year we had not thought of forestry in those terms, but one need not seek far to find many avenues of useful employment that will result in increasing the productivity and value of our forest heritage. It is in times like these that the need for planning becomes most evident. Each year of unemployment brings to our forests the grave danger of incendiary fires—fires deliberately set that men may profit by helping to put them out. Confronted with this situation, forestry officials must plan to safeguard our timberlands by augmenting their regularly employed protective forces, by constructing fire lines, and by patrol. Lumbermen must plan less wasteful methods of cutting and manufacture, and more carefully selective logging.

I have just completed a survey that gives a concrete picture of the amount of work and money immediately needed to safeguard our forests from fire, and to increase the value of forest products both in our national and our state forests. This survey indicates that many miles of roads and trails need to be built, lookout towers erected, fire protective personnel augmented, unproductive acres planted, and other cultural methods undertaken, before we can even hope to place the forests of the United States upon a productive and stable basis comparable to that which has been attained as regards the forests of European nations.

All this means jobs. The necessities of our forest problem are by no means confined to tree planting. This is important; but from the standpoint of unemployment relief, as well as from the standpoint of safeguarding the forests from fire, other measures are more urgent. It is a conservative estimate that a minimum of one hundred thousand men could find year-long labor on our national and state forests alone, in useful and productive work, if funds can be made available.

Progress in forestry is not always confined to the ad-



Photograph from U. S. Forest Service

MILLIONS of orphan acres producing nothing for our national wealth. The men pictured above are planting seedlings in burned-over country. While reforestation work offers no unemployment panacea, it might profitably be included in the public works program of the Government.

vancement of constructive activities. It also includes the defeat of unwise methods that seek, through either sinister or unenlightened motives, to turn back the clock of time. During the present year more than one legislative proposal has threatened the disintegration of our National Forests, seeking to give to the states great areas of forested land and largely to destroy the greatest single contribution to forestry in America—the National Forest system. Those of us who have the interests of forestry at heart must regard as real progress the fact that the press of the land has on each occasion fought valiantly for the defeat of such proposals.

THE CREATION of the Timber Conservation Board, on January 1, 1931, by President Hoover, marked another important step in forest progress. Here, for the first time, was gathered together a body of men composed of representatives of the forest-products industries, public spirited groups, and government departments, for the purpose of securing an economic balance between production and consumption of forest products and to work out some deliberate plan of forest improvement. Chronic overproduction has characterized the forest industries for the past fifteen years, and is one of the most aggravated problems pressing for constructive handling. The recommendations made by this Timber Conservation Board will have far-reaching effects, both in the field of forest management and in the lumber and other forest-products industries. It represents the best thought of industry, of forestry educators and administrators.

For a long time many of us have felt that federal leadership in forestry has been rendered less effective by the division of the administration of federal land through several departments and a number of bureaus. With the passing years the need for a reorganization of government, that would permit all federal conservation activities to be engaged in under one head, has become

more pronounced. A definite step was taken within the past year to bring this about, and must be regarded as distinct progress. Division of responsibility implies waste of effort, funds, and often cross purposes. The concentration of all conservation and land-use activities under one head will do much to eliminate this situation and to render more effective the necessary leadership that the federal Government could exercise.

But for every endeavor lies the necessity for an unending drive toward better public understanding and public participation. This is uniquely true in the field of forestry, while the tree-consciousness of our people is indicated by the fact that in 1931 and 1932 some 20,000,000 trees were planted by individuals as memorials to George Washington on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of his birth. These are registered on the National Honor Roll of The American Tree Association. Without the whole-hearted backing of an intelligent public, little permanent progress can be expected. Without the sympathy of the people of the United States, the cause of forestry, or any other cause, is on hazardous ground.

That this sympathy and understanding has at last been won is increasingly apparent, and the great motivating force behind it lies in the patient, constant effort of all of us to tell the story of forestry simply and sincerely for the layman who must read as he rides. Demonstration forests, those great show-windows of forestry, more dramatically than the printed word, show to the passerby, what forestry can do and is doing.

When the time comes in which the public as a whole takes the safeguarding of our woodlands as part of its own personal prerogative, then we can feel that all danger of selfish and unintelligent legislation is passed, that our fire hazards have been controlled, and that our forests are safe to play their permanent and helpful part in the great social and economic development of this growing nation.



Photograph from Ewing Galloway

RIVERSIDE CHURCH, in New York City, exemplifies the many opportunities for service afforded by the modern church. It was completed two years ago, largely through the generosity of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. For Sunday worship there are seating accommodations for 2500 persons, on the floor of the nave and in four galleries.

In the Tower—besides space for the Carillon of 72 bells—there are 22 floors housing the Church School, the offices of the church, the studies of the ministers, and club rooms for men and women. The program for a typical evening in mid-

week offers these possibilities: dinner in the Assembly Hall; gymnasium and bowling alleys open to men; chorus, fourth floor; crafts group, ninth floor; public-speaking group, thirteenth floor; lecture in the Readers' Club, fifteenth floor; discussion group, sixteenth floor; class in woodworking, twenty-first floor.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick—whose portrait is reproduced above, and whose views on the function of the minister in a time of economic and social crisis begin on the opposite page—is the pastor of this Riverside Church. He was ordained in the Baptist ministry thirty years ago.

What Can the Minister Do?

OUR CIVILIZATION CAN NOT AND OUGHT NOT TO SURVIVE AS IT IS

By HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, D.D.

in the ministry have asked ourselves more than once, What can the Christian minister do? Even in an ordinary time a Christian preacher must sometimes feel how little effect he has, as though in his idealism he were whistling against a heavy wind. Today, however, the antagonistic elements with which we contend are prodigious. One feels at times like Gulliver in the land of the giants, a very small man amid titanic forces and figures. I should have small hope for a minister so little aware of the wild unreason and abysmal perils of the world today as never to ask himself in very agony, What can the Christian minister do?

Let us take also for granted that neither Christian ministers nor anybody else may be able to do enough to save western civilization from collapse. The shores of history have had more than one fair-seeming culture wrecked on them. Surely, our present civilization cannot survive and ought not to survive as it is. And only as it succeeds more intelligently than it has been doing in adjusting itself to the facts of the new world can it reasonably hope for continuance.

Granted, then, the seriousness of our times, What can the Christian minister do?

In the first place, suppose that our worst fears were coming true, and that western civilization, as Spengler thinks, after the manner of many a preceding culture were going to break up—all the more need for a profound personal religion. Whatever else the Christian minister can or cannot do, he can help to build personalities strong in faith and character, so that inwardly steady they can do what they think they ought to do and endure what they have to stand. And whether from the standpoint of the individuals themselves or of any future society that will come out of the wreck, such ministry is everlastingly worthwhile.

We ministers, young and old, have the honor to belong to a profession that works primarily with individuals. There are just a few of them—the physician, the nurse, the teacher, the minister. All these work primarily with individuals, and the nerve of their professional service is cut if ever they suspect that that is not worthwhile.

In the second place, while a Christian minister ought to rejoice in this opportunity for personal service, there is something else that he can do in these chaotic times. He can help to build the church of the future. Personally, in the next quarter of a century I expect to see an immense amount of ecclesiastical wreckage. Many of our churches are not functioning. Freed by society from taxation, they are not worth to society what they cost, but used as auditoriums for sparsely attended worship services twice a week they are for the most part socially functionless. Nothing is more certain than the necessity of eliminating in religion, as elsewhere, the

useless and maladjusted organizations which are not meeting the issues of this time.

Nevertheless, when any society gives up an old religion, or an old church, it does not get instead, as some seem to think, a high-minded irreligion as a substitute. Living in a world of intellectual discourse, we ministers are tempted to suppose that men and women at large choose between theism and religion, on one side, and, on the other, a high-minded, philosophical, socially idealistic irreligion like Professor Otto's. Upon the contrary, when the old religion goes and the old churches are deserted, what the public at large gets to fill the vacuum is mainly a crude, superstitious caricature of religion.

That process repeated again and again in history is going on now all over the United States. Many of our people already have given up the old religion and the old churches. Are they, then, as a whole, turning out to be idealistic intellectuals, following some character like Walter Lippmann, let us say, into a lofty, ethical, public-spirited stoicism? Upon the contrary, they are offering us a crop of such undisciplined paganism and insane superstition as seldom have cursed a population. The paganism is obvious. To take but a single item to illustrate the superstition, a friend of mine, an expert investigator in the field, tells us that this country pays to astrologers, numerologists, clairvoyants, palmists and soothsayers in general \$125,000,000 a year, and that \$25,000,000 of this comes from New York City.

If, therefore, this country is going to get a sane spiritual life, and we certainly need it, there is only one way out that I can see—to build churches, where intelligent, vital, ethical Christianity can have a chance to grow and bear fruit and be given to the children. That kind of church is not impossible.

dawned for church building. Lift up your hopes, especially you younger men. They may come true quicker than we think, and all over this country communities will rise up to say, We will not be content with these overlapping and competitive sects, whose historical origins, however noble, have no pertinent relationship with the living issues of this present time, but for our own sakes and for the sake of our children we will have churches where our best thinking is fairly met, and where the best spiritual life of our communities can find a home.

Let all who seriously care about seeing the principles of Jesus put into personal character and public life come freely in, and if diverse forms of worship are desired let them be held under one roof and not scattered under many roofs around one block. We will have no more churches in this town than are needed, and then we will staff them for seven days' work a week for the community, its recreation, its religious education, its phi-

lanthropy, its civic spirit. For our own sakes and for our children's we will have that kind of church.

I do not mean by this that we are to despise our own denomination. Always remember that if we have a chance in a new day of church building to work for interdenominational Christianity it is the denomination which gives us the chance.

ONE KNOWS WELL, however, that neither personal service nor the building of the church of the future exhausts all we should expect from the Christian ministry. The conscientious intelligence of the world is centered now, and will be for years ahead, upon our economic and international problems. What can the Christian minister do?

The very position which he occupies, serving congregations that include all types of economic and political opinion seems to shut him out from definite activity. He cannot be pugnaciously partisan and, yet, is it not futile to be non-partisan? What can he do?

When the Labor Government was established in England, the rumor went about that the King, being presumably a Conservative, might not welcome a Labor Government or coöperate with it. It is said that when the King heard that he retorted, "I would have you understand that no political party has me in its pocket." That is finely said. The King of England has no business to be in any party's pocket. No more has any Christian minister. Neither Communism, nor Socialism, nor Capitalism should have a minister in its pocket.

What does that mean, however—that he stands aloof? Is he to be a new kind of monk, and his pulpit a new kind of monastery? Upon the contrary, the Christian Gospel has essential and peculiar interests at stake in

the economic situation.

Let me speak for a moment out of my heart as a working minister. I always had known that the economic life was sacred. Of course it is, for it does things to personality, and whatever affects personality must be a sacred matter to a Christian. But that truth is written in raised letters now. Some time ago the Governors of thirty-nine of our American states sent messages to one of our Senators in Washington, the substance of which was that no one is starving. What nonsense that is! What do we mean by starving? Only the other day within two blocks of my own church tower we found a fine family with two half-starved children. There are all degrees of starvation, and sometimes one thinks it would be more merciful if some people could starve outright and be done with it instead of going through the long-drawn-out agony which they are suffering now. There is no possibility of exaggerating the human tragedy in America this winter, the terrific consequences, physical, mental, and moral of our economic breakdown. Moreover, no bad luck brought our catastrophe upon us. The gifts of nature were never more plentiful, the scientific control of man over nature was never more extended. This is no "act of God" that has befallen us; it is bad management.

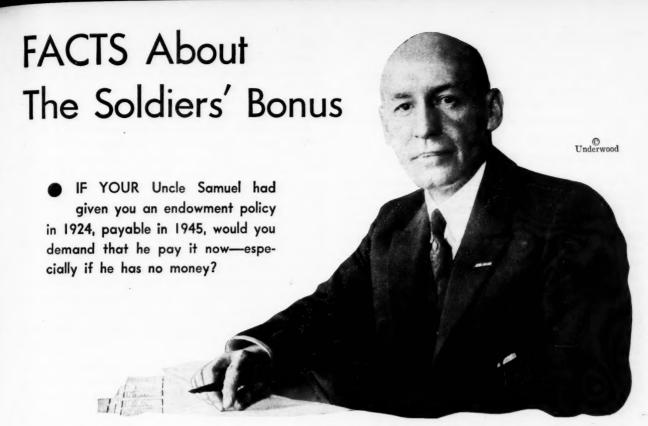
As though it were not enough to have fought the most destructive war in history, we in the western world have gone on loading nations with unpayable debts, rearing tariff walls against the very international trade on which all mutual welfare rests, insisting on a narrow nationalism in a generation when all our major interests are international, running our industry on an intensely selfish motive of private profit when only large-scale, social, coöperative planning can conceivably save industry at all. We have used our best brains to make money for ourselves out of the economic system instead of using our brains to solve the social problems which the economic system has produced. This comes to its focus at the point where Christianity has its most intimate concern—it does destructive things to personality.

So far from thinking, then, that the Christian minister can stand aloof from this situation, I suspect that he has one of the greatest opportunities in all history to proclaim the solid, factual basis of the Christian ethic. Multitudes of people have thought that Christian morality was ideal, a beautiful and iridescent dream toward which we might in sentimental hours aspire, but which had nothing substantially to do with daily life. The cold facts, so men have said, are that this is a hard world where selfishness rules. To which I answer, it is not. It is a world where in the long run selfishness fails, and if we will not learn that in advance we have to learn it afterward in catastrophe.

We never can possess unless we share. The present economic crisis has put that in raised letters for all the world to see. Behind the natural divergencies of opinion as to the cause and cure of our catastrophe, there appears to be among all competent schools of thought a clear agreement at least at this point: We thought that we could make more money for ourselves by producing more goods to sell, and so with the increased efficiency of the new machinery we went on building more factories to sell more goods to make more money for ourselves, and all the time we kept forgetting that if we were to make more money for ourselves by selling more and more goods the whole body of the population must be more and more able to buy them. Forgetting that in our thirst for private profit, we practised mass production without providing mass consumption.

HAT CAN the Christian minister do? Go out with high spirit into this threefold ministry to be a builder of spiritual life, a builder of churches for the new day, and a builder of social righteousness. Remember the saying of Ralph Waldo Emerson that the lesson of life is to believe what the years and the centuries say as against the hours. How important that is -to believe what the years and the centuries say against the hours! The hours have often said that a social cause was whipped, but the centuries! The hours have often said that Christianity was as good as dead, but the centuries! The hours said that Roman tyranny would last forever, that religious liberty would never come, that slavery would not be stopped, that the American Republic could not be founded, just as they are saying now that war is inevitable and recurrent depressions will curse the people, but the centuries!

I do not mean this as a mere optimistic gospel of inevitable progress. God does let his children wreck their boats. Whole civilizations can collapse and be beaten like hulks on the shores of history. If we make fools of ourselves in this western world, that will happen to us. Nevertheless, watch the centuries swinging up a long, slow spiral, coming back to old problems but on a higher level, learning even from severest losses, seeing their bonfires, dampened by appalling loads of barbarism thrown on them, blaze up the better, until a thousand years are but as yesterday when it is past.



By CENERAL FRANK T. HINES

ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS

EMAND FOR THE immediate payment of the socalled "Bonus" has become so insistent, on the part of some organized groups, and certain events incident to the agitation have secured such publicity, as to focus the eyes of the citizenry of this country upon the whole problem of veterans' relief.

There exists a great lack of understanding of the real facts in connection with the Bonus. My sole purpose in writing this article is to provide the American people with authentic facts. I believe it to be the duty of every citizen to give his attention to the general matter of veterans' relief, and to familiarize himself with it so that he may intelligently express his attitude. Those in authority will thus know what the American people desire to do on behalf of the country's veterans.

During the readjustment period following the World War, when prosperity was rampant, little attention was given by the average citizen to the problem of veterans' relief except to make the general observation that "nothing was too good for the veterans." So long as the Treasury showed surpluses from year to year, the cost of veterans' relief did not attract particular attention. This state of affairs, however, has been completely reversed, and those who heretofore paid large taxes without question are now prone to examine into the reasons for such heavy levies.

There has been appointed by the Congress a joint committee to study this whole subject, and I have high hopes that many constructive changes will find birth in this committee. One of the principal reasons advanced by the writer in the support of his advocacy of the consolidation of all veterans' agencies in the federal Government, under one organization, was so that a uniform national policy might be established. And I am more

convinced than ever that such a plan not only is practicable and feasible, but that it is a necessity.

From the close of the Revolutionary War up to May 31, 1932, the Government disbursed for veterans' relief approximately \$14,346,962,000. Of this account \$8,618,000,000 represented the amount paid as pensions to veterans of all wars prior to the World War, and to those soldiers of the Regular Establishment who have been pensioned for injuries or disease resulting in line of duty in the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps.

The net disbursements for direct monetary benefits to the World War veterans and their dependents, up to May 31, 1932, amounted to \$4,170,000,000. The balance of the disbursements on account of World War veterans, amounting to \$1,559,000,000, is because of indirect benefits such as hospitalization, domiciliary care, travel expenses to veterans, burials, etc., and administrative costs.

It is well to review briefly the history of adjusted compensation. The question of legislating on this matter was before the Congress from 1920 to 1924. It was the desire of Congress to make some adjustment in the remuneration given to men who served in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, adjusting their wages to some extent to compare with the earnings of those who labored at home. It is quite evident that the Congress was not averse to passing some form of legislation which would avoid a large disbursement made immediately from the Treasury. It also appears to have been the feeling of the Congress that it was not practicable at that time to attempt the flotation of a bond issue, or to raise the money by means of additional taxation.

One of the bills most seriously considered by Congress provided for five optional plans of settlement:

- Adjusted-service pay where the amount of credit was \$50 or less.
- (2) Issuance to veterans of an adjusted service certificate in the form of an endowment insurance policy.
- (3) The granting of vocational training aid.
- (4) The granting of farm or home aid.
- (5) The granting of land settlement aid.

The bill which finally became a law was passed over President Coolidge's veto on May 19, 1924. It provided that each veteran having held a rank below that of Lieutenant-Commander in the Navy, or Major in the Army, should receive as adjusted compensation (after deduction for the first sixty days of service, for which a cash settlement had been made at the time of discharge) credit at the rate of \$1 per day for service in the United States and \$1.25 for service overseas.

Those veterans entitled to \$50 or less had their adjusted service credit paid to them immediately. Those whose credits totaled in excess of \$50 secured entitlement to receive upon application an adjusted service certificate. If the veteran died before making application for the benefits conferred by the Act, certain surviving dependents were privileged to apply for the adjusted service credit, either in one sum (if not more than \$50) or in ten equal quarterly installments.

The adjusted service credit inuring to a veteran who was to have issued to him an adjusted service certificate was increased by 25 per cent. because the payment thereof was deferred. It is worth pointing out here that dependents of deceased veterans who received an amount which would have been (had the veteran been alive) sufficient to have entitled the veteran to an adjusted service certificate, had no such 25 per cent. added to the adjusted service credit.

There seems to be an opinion widely prevalent that the amount shown on the face of the adjusted service certificate—as being due twenty years from date of issuance—represents the adjusted service credit of \$1 and \$1.25 a day. In fact, that figure spoken of as the amount of adjusted service certificate really represents

the maturity value of a twenty year endowment life insurance policy. Actually that is what the adjusted service certificate is, and that is what Congress intended and desired that the veterans should receive. The maturity value stated on the face of the certificate in the average case represents approximately two and one-half times the adjusted service credit computed on the basis of the adjustment of \$1 and \$1.25 a day.

The maturity value of the certificate—that is, the amount shown on the face thereof—was arrived at by using the adjusted service credit, increased by 25 per cent. because of deferred payment, as a net single premium according to the American Experience Table of Mor-

tality with interest at 4 per cent. per annum compounded annually. This is the same way that any insurance company would fix the amount of a twenty year insurance policy purchased on a like basis—except that no loading to cover agents' commissions or administrative expenses was included.

As a concrete example: A veteran with 178 days' service in the United States (in excess of the first sixty days for which a cash bonus was paid) and 176 days' service overseas, on the basis of \$1 and \$1.25 per day, secured an adjustment in a net amount of \$398. To this adjusted service credit there was added 25 per cent. because of deferred payment. Thus the gross credit to be used as a net single premium amounted to \$498, which was sufficient to procure an adjusted service certificate in the average case with an amount shown on the face thereof of \$1,000.

It will be readily perceived that well over 60 per cent. of the maturity value of the certificate is represented by the additional credit granted by the Congress because of deferring the payment, and the compound interest earned by the certificate during its tenure in force.

Certainly no reasonable person holding a twenty year endowment life insurance policy with a commercial insurance company would seriously press a claim for the payment thereof years before the policy would normally mature. By the same reasoning, payment of the maturity value of the adjusted service certificates cannot be logically contended for on the basis that the amount payable to a living veteran twenty years from the date of issuance thereof is either equitably or legally due in advance of the date of maturity. Therefore, it must be that the proponents of the idea of paying off the adjusted service certificates in their maturity value at this time desire not the settlement of an admitted obligation but an increase in the fundamental amount of the original basis for adjusting the compensation of the veterans.

The Act of May 19, 1924, provided each certificate with a loan value in an amount represented by 90 per cent. of the reserve value of the certificate on the last day of the current certificate year. The reserve value

was to be the full reserve required on such certificates based on an annual level net premium for twenty years, and calculated in accordance with the American Experience Table of Mortality and interest at 4 per cent, per annum compounded annually. No certificate was to be eligible for a loan until the expiration of two years from the date of issuance thereof. The maximum rate of interest to be charged on such loans was first limited to not more than 2 per cent. per annum above the discount rate for 90 days commercial paper in the Federal Reserve District in which the loan was made. Only incorporated banks and trust companies were permitted to lend on these certificates.

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By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
WILL THE SKY NEVER CLEAR UP?
There are threats of a new march on Congress.

But the amendment of March 3, 1927, provided that the Government could make such loans as a trustee of the United States Government Life Insurance Fund. The amendatory legislation of February 27, 1931, further extended the facilities for making loans to the Adjusted Service Certificate Fund, which is the reserve fund for adjusted service certificates; it statutorily increased the loan value to 50 per cent. of the maturity value of the certificates, thus discarding the actuarial basis which formerly obtained; and it limited to 41/2 per cent. the interest charged on such loans.

The law was further amended under date of July 21, 1932, so as to fix the maximum amount of interest which might be charged at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and to eliminate the requirement that two years elapse from the date of issuance before a certificate might be used for the purpose of securing a loan thereon. Thus while the reserve value of the certificate is accumulating to the veteran's credit at the rate of 4 per cent., the amount charged him on account of loans may not exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Using \$1000 as the average amount of a certificate and the average age at issuance 33 years (this is ap-

proximately the average) on the basis of actuarial calculation, assuming that the certificate was issued as of January 1, 1925, and including that portion of the additional credit given because of deferred payment which has been actually earned by the passage of time, the present worth of the certificate is about \$542. If the veteran exercised his right to secure a loan in an increased amount immediately following the passage of the February 27, 1931, statute, the amount of lien against his certificate at the beginning of the certificate year would have been approximately \$519. The present worth of the insurance feature of his adjusted service certificate is thus between \$22 and \$23; and it must be quite apparent that the actual equity which the veteran retains in his certificate is negligible.

As of June 30, 1932, 119,469 beneficiaries of adjusted compensation had been paid in cases where veterans died before applying for the benefits of the Act, an amount aggregating \$38,500,000; and 149,170 veterans had received \$4,750,000 because their adjusted service credits were \$50 or less. A total number of 3,677,975 certificates with a maturity value of \$3,648,235,587 had been issued up to that date; and of this number 133,724 had become matured on account of death, and \$133,951,446 had been paid to the designated beneficiaries. Thus 3,544,251 certificates were in force, with a maturity value of \$3,514,284,141 and a present loan value of \$1,757,000,000. Loans thereon had been secured by 2,734,582 veterans, amounting to \$1,429,000,000.

It is gratifying indeed to know that at least 610,000 veterans had not borrowed on their certificates, but had preserved them as insurance for their families. In addi-



PAYMENTS TO VETERANS OF THE WORLD WAR

(and their dependents)

Exclusive of Insurance and Bonus

			Emergency Officers'		
	Disability	Death	Retirement	Disability	
Year	Compensation	n Compensation	Pay.	Allowance	Total
1918	\$ 172,802	\$ 168,564			\$ 341,365
1919	6,539,115	4,762,228			11,301,343
1920	82,012,777	21,109,938			103,122,715
1921	103,728,309	17,576,745			121,305,053
1922	106,783,661	16,566,882			123,350,542
1923	107,050,565	18,543,704			125,594,270
1924	96,089,558	19,405,434			115,494,991
1925	104,130,215	25,467,242			129,597,458
1926	133,243,887	31,193,252			164,437,139
1927	144,138,546	29,338,419			173,476,965
1928	150,980,629	30,819,037			181,799,666
1929	153,090,388	31,044,407	4,795,659		188,930,454
1930	155,034,081	32,965,925	11,229,262		199,229,268
1931	181,900,493	31,441,567	10,937,594	29,689,567	253,969,221
1932	189,540,381	36,715,575	11,553,144	75,458,233	313,290,833
	\$1,714,435,406	\$347,118,919	\$38,515,658	\$105,147,800	\$2,205,241,284

tion there were approximately 200,000 certificates which at that time did not have a loan privilege because of the two year provision, but which have since been made eligible by the amendment of July 21, 1932.

As the present value of the reserve fund set up by the Congress to meet payments occasioned by the maturity of the adjusted service certificates is \$1,214,000,000, an appropriation of \$2,300,000,000 would be necessary to make immediate payment of the maturity value of the certificates. The present worth of the outstanding certificates—if the portion of the 25 per cent. additional credit which has been earned is considered as due—is \$1,879,000,000, or \$1,635,000,000 less than the amount that some persons would have us now pay on such certificates, increasing compensation by this figure.

The total credit—that is, the adjustment of \$1 and \$1.25 per day—on the certificates outstanding aggregated \$1,407,000,000. In other words, the maturity value of the outstanding certificates exceeds the adjusted service credit by \$2,107,000,000. As was explained in the example relating to an individual certificate, this total is made up of the 25 per cent. additional credit granted because of deferred payment and the 4 per cent. compound interest which the Government is crediting to the veterans while the certificates remain in force.

In considering the question as to whether the adjusted service certificates should be paid in full in the immediate future, even though not due until twelve or thirteen years hence, there is also for consideration by the tax-paying public the question as to whether there shall be appropriated an estimated sum of from two to two-and-a-half billion dollars to provide for such payment.

Roadside Development



J. M. BENNETT

(Superintendent of Parks and Forestry, Board of County Road Commissioners, Wayne County, Michigan)

of the cause. Such conditions contribute fatigue to what was planned as a pleasure drive. Orderly, well-kept, shaded roadsides — devoid of advertising signs, wayside stands, and other undesirable features —add a measure of recreation to the function of highways.

Roadside trees are planted for shade as well as for appearance. Those who have driven over hot and dusty roads during the summer or through the reflected heat of pavements, especially when traffic was congested and progress slow.

fully appreciate the comfort derived from shade. Also, shaded areas along the roadsides form ideal spots for tire changing and minor car adjustments. Trees not only serve to regulate the temperature with respect to driving comfort; they also prevent sudden and excessive temperature changes in the road surface and subgrade, thereby eliminating a great deal of damage due to freezing, moisture, and drouth.

The planting of roadside trees may be considered a rather sound investment. Work is created for those in need, and nursery stock of good quality can be purchased now at a most reasonable cost. If proper trees are selected they will increase in value and service, as they grow for many years.

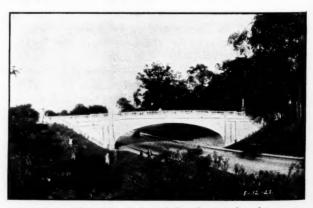
their consequent increased use, roadside development has grown in importance until it is now considered by the more progressive communities as a necessary part of highway programs. The public's interest is evidenced by the activities of local, state, and national organizations which are endeavoring by legislation and by publicity to eliminate the objectionable features of roadsides and to encourage those most desirable. Road authorities are in full accord with the movement. In spite of this, favorable sentiment is often unproductive because of a lack of funds.

The common question is, Why is it necessary to spend money for roadside beautification when it does not improve the ease or speed of traffic? The answer is that there are other considerations of equal importance.

Attractive surroundings play an important part in the daily lives of everyone. A house of a certain design is built or bought because in addition to its desirable interior arrangement and evident practical qualities, it outwardly suits the taste of the purchaser. He likes its appearance. Otherwise he would not wish to live in it.

As applied to highways, this means that pleasure traffic is far greater than business traffic; it consists largely of those who seek relief from their every-day routine of living. This relief can be more nearly realized when provision has been made for pleasant and attractive travel along the highways.

If the roadsides are lined with a disorderly mass of poles, lunch stands, signboards, butchered trees, barren areas, tall grass, and weeds, the mental effect on the motorist is depressing although he may be unconscious



WAYNE COUNTY—which includes Detroit—has become famous under Mr. Bennett's direction as a laboratory for the improvement of highways. This is a grade separation properly landscaped.

Shrubs and vines are often planted along banks, through cuts and fills, to prevent erosion. Sodding and seeding is practised for the same purpose. The amount of money saved annually by this work alone—as an alternative to the continuously filling and repairing of washouts—would more than pay for shrubs, vines, and flowers used for decorative purposes.

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A further saving results from combining the overhead lines of public utilities. This is known as joint construction. By placing all communication facilities on one pole line, and all power and service facilities on another, on opposite sides of the highway, the maximum in economy and safety is attained. The poles should be placed where they will cause the least damage to existing and proposed trees. Where the right-of-way is of sufficient width to accommodate both pole lines and trees, a more permanent and better appearing result is obtained by placing the poles between the trees and the traveled way. Highways near large cities are sometimes so narrow and strictly commercial that tree planting is impractical. In these instances, pole lines can generally be provided for with little difficulty. But overhead lines should never be permitted on boulevards or drives designed purely for pleasure traffic.

Most highways are still used to accommodate publicutility pole lines, because this affords the companies a free right-of-way, because the lines are easily accessible at all times for maintenance, and because it constitutes a more direct method of distribution. A better arrangement, from the standpoint of the public, would be to place all long-distance communication lines in cable, and secure a private right-of-way for high-tension lines

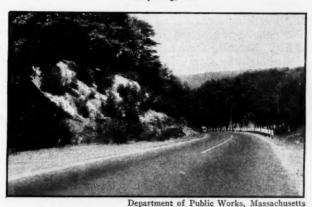
not serving the immediate community.

The proper location of pole lines, underground utilities, and trees should be indicated on the plans for the highway; and as new poles are set or old lines rebuilt they should conform to this plan. Ornamental light posts with underground cable should be used for boulevards or pleasure drives. An orderly arrangement of everything within the right-of-way decreases maintenance costs and improves the general appearance of the roadsides.

Regardless of the type of road, whether a boulevard or one carrying mixed traffic, the conveniences of comfort stations cannot be overlooked. The number of automobiles using improved highways will never be less than at present, and since motoring is now considered the most common means of transportation some provision must be made for the comfort and convenience of the



Department of Highways, Pennsylvania
CLIMBING ROSES improve the Lincoln Highway near
Gettysburg, Pa.



USEFUL as well as ornamental, these planted shrubs keep the dirt from washing down on the highway.



THIS is the way Pennsylvania's Highway Department makes a roadside spring available for public use.



State Highway Commission, New Jersey

LANDSCAPING OF GRADE SEPARATIONS as pictured above at Woodbridge, N. J., provides appropriate settings for these underpasses. A road crossing can be ornamental as well as useful.

motorist. Further than that, a proper system of comfort stations eliminates trespassing on private property and protects the public through the availability of sanitary facilities.

Adoption of measures to provide for safe driving is of even more importance to the public than sanitation. Operators of motor cars are of various types, and what would be safe for one will be a hazard to another. The only thing for highway authorities to do is to eliminate all conditions that are dangerous to the average motorist. This involves the proper construction of pavements, shoulders, curves, intersections, and grade separations, including the consideration of clear views at all dangerous locations. Safety measures are also a part of this work, such as the proper location of public utility poles and trees, tree trimming, and the elimination of all obstructions including advertising signs.

Advertising signs should never be permitted within the right-of-way of any highway, regardless of the locality. Recently there has been widespread condemnation of highway advertising, and many national and local organizations are engaged in a campaign against it. Cooperation has been received from many advertisers. A beautiful roadside forms a better advertisement for the community itself, and therefore the landowner will undoubtedly be more happy in the long run. A check on the favorable returns from attractive roadsides seems more tangible than a similar check on the revenue from highway advertising.

Advertising signs along highways constitute a menace to traffic. Many serious accidents have resulted from motorists becoming more interested in signs than in the business of safely driving their automobiles. Often the be regulated on adjoining property by zoning laws. Lunch stands of cheap design and questionable products, and filling stations in too great profusion, are everywhere objectionable.

Modern highways are designed to provide the maximum service to the motoring public in the most eco-To regulate or limit refreshment nomical manner. stands and filling stations on private property is difficult. Perhaps the most direct method of accomplishing this is to incorporate such necessities into one structure fittingly designed, constructed, and operated by the road authorities on land purchased for the purpose. Undesirable concessions could be largely eliminated through competition. The highway of the future-in addition to carrying traffic swiftly, safely, and comfortably—may provide appropriately designed and located buildings with facilities for comfort, lunch, refreshment, gas, oil, minor repairs, rest rooms, public telephones, and similar conveniences.

That the future of roadside development has become a question of national importance is evidenced by a Federal Act of May 21, 1928. Section 2 of this Act is as follows:

Section 2. In every case in which, in the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture and the highway department of the state in question, it shall be practicable to plant and maintain shade trees along the highways authorized by said act of November 9, 1921, and by this act, the planting of such trees shall be included in the specifications provided in section 8 of said act of November 9, 1921.

A bulletin issued by the Department of Agriculture,



Department of Public Works, Massachusetts

PARKWAYS AT ROADSIDE INTERSECTIONS may be improved by planting shrubs and seedlings, as pictured above near Norwood, Mass.

signs obstruct views at curves and at the intersections.

A number of states have laws which regulate or prevent the use of the highways for advertising, and when properly enforced these laws serve a desirable purpose. It seems unreasonable to expect that the people should favor the use of public roadside land, the community's front yard, for displaying advertising signs when such a use of the land immediately surrounding their homes would not be tolerated.

Lunch stands and filling stations are desirable when properly designed, located, and operated, but this is seldom the case. They should not be permitted within the limits of the highway right-of-way, and they should Bureau of Public Roads, explains this Act as follows:

Under this provision tree planting may be specified in plans for federal-aid construction in the same manner as other details of construction. No funds other than those previously provided for federal-aid road construction are provided. Tree planting is subject to the general provisions which govern all federal-aid road work.

Federal-aid is available for expenditure only on the designated federal-aid system, and the federal government can deal only with the state highway departments in its construction. The state highway departments initiate projects for improvement, make surveys, prepare plans and specifications, let contracts and supervise construction, all

subject to approval of the Secretary of Agriculture through the Bureau of Public Roads.

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Those interested in tree planting on specific routes should take up the matter with their state highway departments.

Similar aid is often extended by states to their counties, and many state laws exist which provide for the planting and care of roadside trees and shrubs.

RECENT SURVEY of state highway departments reveals that a number have undertaken roadside development as part of their annual programs. A complete schedule is carried on in some states, involving landscape plans, planting, trimming, spraying, seeding, sodding, mowing of grass, supervision of public utility construction, tree trimming for line

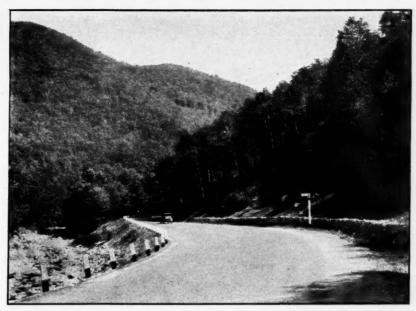
clearance, and general maintenance. Other states engage in only a portion of this work, depending upon the funds available, necessity, and public demand. In practically all cases permits are secured by publicutility companies for the construction of pole lines on highways, and tree trimming for line clearance is done by the companies under the supervision of the road authorities. In most instances advertising signs are prohibited within the limits of highway rights-of-way.

• MICHIGAN. Roadside development has been a definite part of the annual state highway program in Michigan since 1927. Even earlier, from 1920 till 1927, a forester or landscape architect was employed in an advisory capacity. Planting is done on both commercial and scenic highways. Approaches to all bridges and grade separations are sodded and landscaped rapidly. A plan has been adopted whereby the exact distance of trees and poles from the road center line is established for all types of roads.

Since 1929 the following planting has been done in Michigan: 1929, 212,000 evergreens and 16,000 deciduous trees; 1930, 650,000 evergreens, 24,000 deciduous trees, and 15,000 shrubs; 1931, 950,000 evergreens, 43,000 deciduous trees, and 35,000 shrubs; 1932, 420,000 evergreens, 70,000 deciduous trees, and 65,000 shrubs. Several thousand perennials and annuals are also planted each season.

In addition to landscaping, strips of land parallel with and on both sides of the highway are purchased through timbered sections, for the purpose of preserving the trees and creating scenic routes. Roadside springs are also improved and made available for public use.

• CONNECTICUT. The State Highway Department has carried on a complete program of roadside development since 1927. All phases of the work are undertaken, including the improvement of pleasure drives as well as commercial highways. Both formal and informal planting is practised. Last spring more than 65,000 trees and shrubs were set out along the highways. Support is often obtained from outside agencies and individuals,



PROPER trimming and removal of trees by the Massachusetts Department of Public Works enhance the natural features of the Mohawk Trail.

but the actual work is done by the Highway Department. In addition to the regular activities of the Highway Department, coöperation is extended to small municipalities, public and semi-public institutions, by advising them and furnishing plans for landscape work. All roadside plantings and improved waste areas are maintained in perfect condition. Intensive practices and progressive accomplishments, properly administered, have produced results of outstanding merit.

 Massachusetts. A program of improving the roadsides has been carried on in this state for many years. In 1920 a separate branch of the Department of Public Works was organized for this, under the Division of Highways.

About 1500 trees and 15,000 shrubs and flowers are planted along the roadsides each year. To date this has involved a total of more than 150,000 trees and 500,000 shrubs—largely of maples, elms, and native shrubs. Both formal and informal landscape plans are followed, depending upon the locality. In some instances the work is performed by outside agencies.

- PENNSYLVANIA. Since the fall of 1928, the State Highway Department has been engaged in organized roadside development, and a comprehensive program has been carried out each year. From 1919 to 1928 nearly 100,000 trees and shrubs were planted, and the total to date is approximately 1,000,000. Many scenic views have been created through the trimming and removal of trees, and a number of roadside springs have been beautified.
- New York. All phases of roadside work have been practised by the Division of Highways for twenty years. Approximately 10,000 trees have been planted, including American elms, sugar maples, Norway maples, pin oaks, sycamores, and a few willows. In some instances outside agencies have coöperated to the extent of financing and executing various portions of the annual programs carried on in the state.

Continued on page 72

Civic Achievements

A NEW DEPARTMENT



THE THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL, erected by New York State, forms part of the group of buildings of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. The huge granite columns of the façade support heroic figures of Lewis, Clark, Audubon, and Boone. The equestrian statue in the foreground is of Theodore Roosevelt himself. All are the work of Fraser.

REGULAR READERS of this periodical will remember extended comments in our last number upon the September gathering at Washington of experts, officials, and civic-minded people who were giving a week to what was known as the "Bicentennial Conference on Planning, Parks, and Government in Celebration of the Birth of George Washington." Nine organizations of wide influence coöperated in the arrangements and the meetings, which were remarkably successful.

As a sequel of that conference we published in our last number a notable article entitled "The New City of Washington" by Col. U. S. Grant 3rd. Col. Grant is the Director of Public Buildings and Parks of the District of Columbia, as well as Executive Officer of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

In this present number (page 50) we are publishing an extended article by Mr. James M. Bennett, who is a high official authority upon road construction and parkways, informing our readers of progress in a number of states where roadsides are gradually assuming the charm of parkways. The National Council for Protection of Roadside Beauty will soon be ten years old. It is cooperative in its methods, and its officers and the members of its general committee are active in other organizations for civic welfare and progress. Mrs. W. L. Lawton of Glens Falls, New York, is chairman of this National Council. Writing to us about the recent national conference at Wash-Writing to us about ington, in which this society took part, Mrs. Lawton remarks: "Delegates representing the roadside committees of many states and national groups learned that in sixteen states the highway departments have a program of roadside improvement, while in thirteen states they are planting roadside trees. They heard how Maryland is eliminating her snipe signs; how Massachusetts has eliminated barn and tree signs, and banished the litter of small signs near the road; how the Wisconsin roadside committee secures the cooperation of the property owners; how the Newport Garden Association persuaded twenty-two national advertisers to give up their boards; how the Long Island Chamber of Commerce has developed a roadside committee of over five hundred members with many roadside projects under way—these as instances which might be multiplied."

It was further announced in these pages last month that we should henceforth devote some space to brief notes relating to civic progress in the United States, in a definite department from month to month. In such matters the demonstration is more intelligible than the announcement. The American Civic Association, with headquarters at Washington, while actively promoting some definite kinds of public policy (as related to national parks for one example), is also a convenient clearing house for information in the broader fields. shall, therefore, cooperate in this department with the officers and the office staff of the American Civic Association.

Introducing "Roosevelt Island"

LOOKING TO THE future of the National Capital, no more important step has been taken within recent weeks than the completion of the purchase of Analostan Island by the Roosevelt Memorial Association, and its transfer to the national government. On the part of the Association, the concluding steps were taken at a meeting of the trustees in Roosevelt House, 28 East 20th Street, New York City, on October 27, this being Theodore

Roosevelt's seventy-fourth birthday. Hon. James R. Garfield, who was reelected on that date as president of the Association, was authorized to act as its representative at Washington in the legal formalities of the final transfer. The island now becomes officially "Roosevelt Island."

Thousands of persons have wondered what was to be the destiny of this unused, densely wooded area, lying in the Potomac north of the new Memorial Bridge to Arlington, and south of the Francis Scott Key Bridge at Georgetown. They need wonder no longer. natural beauty of the wooded islandthe area of which is about ninety acres -will be preserved; and birds and wild things will continue to find a shelter there. But the planning authorities at Washington, in association with the Roosevelt Memorial organization, will open paths and provide convenient access. In our opinion this is no small matter, but an affair of national interest and importance.

It is no secret that the Roosevelt Memorial Association, which, for some years has had a considerable fund at its disposal, has invested approximately \$400,-000 in securing this property in order to give it to the nation as one of our public memorials. Sometime a fitting structure or monument will be erected on Roosevelt Island. It will not try to vie with the Washington Monument, or with the magnificent Lincoln Memorial; but it will be something harmonious and permanently desirable. The land having been secured, there will be plenty of time to decide about architecture or monumental sculpture.

New York's "T. R." Memorial

THE MOST COSTLY of the several memorials in honor of President Theodore Roosevelt, who had also been Governor of his native state of New York, is to be completed and dedicated next year. It takes the form of a magnificent building associated with the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. It faces Central Park at Seventy-ninth Street, and it is proposed to create, by special landscaping, a suitable park entrance that will relate itself to the building. The new structure, which is approaching completion, has been built in pursuance of an appropriation of \$3,500,000 by the Legislature, signed by Governor Smith in 1924. It will be dedicated on Roosevelt's birthday next year.

This New York state memorial to

This New York state memorial to Theodore Roosevelt is to be devoted, appropriately, to education—especially that WEST VIRGINIA'S NEW CAPITOL AT CHARLESTON

Replacing one destroyed by fire eleven years ago. It was designed by Cass Gilbert. This front view faces the Kanawha River. The rear is similar except for wings at each end, connected with the main building on the ground floor only. (See remarks on following page.)

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of the rising generation—in the field of natural history. It is designed also to house many trophies of Roosevelt hunting expeditions, in Africa and other parts of the world. Theodore Roosevelt loved nature in all its aspects, and his hunting excursions were those of the naturalist rather than of the man who enjoyed the thrill of securing game under hazardous conditions. Other great

museums of a public character are enriched for the benefit of students of the animal kingdom by specimens secured during the periods when Theodore Roosevelt was able to set forth upon his adventures as a naturalist.

In South Dakota, where the frail Roosevelt hunted for health in his youth, there is a movement under way to have the Roosevelt Mountain Memorial designated as a "national monument". This is a stone tower, near Deadwood, in the Black Hills. It was dedicated in 1919, the year of the President's death. As a national monument it would wisely come under the perpetual care of the federal government.

The seventy-fifth birthday of Theodore Roosevelt next year will be celebrated with unusual interest; and except for what may prove an exciting mayoralty contest in New York City, the anniversary will not be obscured by preoccupations of a general political campaign.

The Everglades

T was President Roosevelt who gave the greatest impetus to the movement



that has resulted in the segregation of a series of great national parks, with their scenic glories and our forest reserves which are to have many advantages for the country through all time. The national park movement goes on under Mr. Horace Albright's leadership as Director of the Park Service, with the best kind of intelligence and devotion. In the session of Congress that opens on Monday, December 5, the pending bill for the creation of the Everglades National Park (which has already passed the Senate) will be brought up for action in the House. We are aware of no possible objection to the measure, and urgently advise its prompt passage. The Everglades are a bit of the tropics with unique flora and fauna. There are urgent reasons for the preservation of this region before some of its most valuable treasures of trees, animals, plants, and birds have forever disappeared.

In our number for July we published an enthusiastic little article on the Everglades region, which was written at our request by Dr. J. G. Gehring. This eminent physician was also a lover of nature and an entomologist of distinction. His death occurred in Maine, where many distinguished people had, during past years, gone to him for rescue from illness and trouble. He had known the Everglades for thirty years.

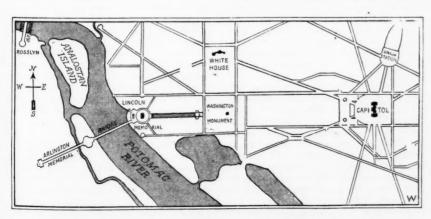
Voting on the Adirondacks

A GOOD MANY years ago the state of New York established a line inside of which was the area known as the Adirondack Park or Forest Reserve. It was the policy of the state to acquire from time to time—by voluntary purchase, or if necessary by condemnation—mountain slopes, lakes, and forests to be held for all time for the public benefit. There are still many little farms and private summer camps within that area. The state is not trying to drive away such owners.

Its policy is to hold great stretches of forest as against the ruthlessness of lumber companies, and to reforest denuded hillsides and mountains. The constitution of New York, by amendment, forbids the practice of commercial forestry by the state within this area. But splendid roads have been built through the Adirondacks, and many places have been provided for automobile parties, and other people wishing to camp out.

On election day, November 8, an amendment to the state constitution was submitted to the voters authorizing the legislature to provide for a more general use of the Adirondack and Catskill Forest Reserves for purposes of recreation. The best authorities in the state, having regard for the true interests of the people, opposed the amendment as opening the door to undesirable amusement features. Thus the proposal was overwhelmingly rejected by the voters. It might, indeed, have been harmless or even desirable; but the people always show themselves to be cautious in a matter of this kind.

Under the urgent advice of Governor Roosevelt the state of New York has entered upon a large policy of land purchase chiefly in areas of abandoned farms



ANALOSTAN ISLAND in the Potomac River, purchased and set aside as a Roosevelt Memorial, is shown here in its relation to major landmarks of the capital city.

outside of the forest reserves, in the northern and western parts of the commonwealth. These lands are gradually to be converted into stretches of state forest.

A New State Capitol

H ARD TIMES and public as well as private economy do not mean that America will cease to express aspiration in monumental structures. We are fortunate in having today the best architects, and the best authorities upon landscape art, that have ever placed their impress upon the face of the country. The state of West Virginia has this year completed and dedicated its new Capitol. This is one of the fine creations of Mr. Cass Gilbert, who has designed so many structures for public use that will never become obsolete. The capital city of West Virginia is Charleston. Its new Capitol will inspire Charleston to work out planning improvements, and to aim at the removal of whatever may interfere with a program of local beauty and dignity. In front of the Capitol flows the Kanawha River, and in the background are wooded mountains.

- RIVERSIDE DRIVE is one of the chief results of modern planning for the improvement of New York City. It is to be extended farther northward in the near future. Memorials and monuments already add to the Drive's interest for visitors, and they will be multiplied. The first of these great memorials was President Grant's Tomb. The most conspicuous today is the beautiful Riverside Church, built chiefly through the munificence of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in which Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick ministers to his great congregation. Our readers will find a picture of this magnificent structure on page 44. It stands on an elevation, and measuring from the sidewalk the tower is 400 feet high.
- Westchester County, lying north of New York City and stretching from Long Island Sound across to the Hudson River, has become more famous for its magnificent system of parks, parkways, and recreational opportunities—developed under the County Park Commission -than for any other feature, whether contemporary or historical. It is famous in only less degree for its institutional reforms having to do with the care of children, the relief of the aged poor, and the management of establishments for delinquents and criminals. New York State was carried with a great sweep by the Democratic party on November 8, but Westchester County went Republican. In our opinion this was not a victory in the political sense of national parties. It was a vote of confidence in the transforming public policies of the county, for which the late Mr. V. Everit Macy is remembered with gratitude. Further than that, it expressed approval of leaders and officials who are now on the job. Ruth Taylor was elected to continue her work as Commissioner of Public Welfare, with a sweeping vote that led the ticket. Experts like Jay Downer, Mr. Merkel, and Mr. Darling will carry

on their fine work for parkways, parks, and playgrounds without molestation.

 A LETTER to the editor from Hon. Murray Seasongood of Cincinnati, written on the day after election, contains the following remark: "A consolation for us here locally is that we have again won in our county fight for good government, electing seven or perhaps eight of our nine candidates for different county offices." Mr. Seasongood was Mayor of Cincinnati from 1926 to 1930. He was leader in the movement that gave Cincinnati its present form of government under a City Manager as chief executive. Colonel Sherrill, who went from Washington, D. C., to hold that office in 1926, was so successful that his management added much to the fair fame of what we used to call the "Queen City." He resigned to enter private business in 1930, and was succeeded by Clarence A. Dykstra, who had previously made a nationwide reputation as a scientific authority and a practical expert in city government. In alluding to the success of his county ticket Mr. Seasongood was not writing as a partisan, but only as an authority upon city and county government. He is now president of the National Municipal League; and as this number appears he will be at Cambridge giving a course of lectures on the Godkin Foundation, which will appear in due time in book form. He is a prominent alumnus of Harvard Law School.

State Planning

W HEN CONSIDERING the present development of the state planning idea, it is important to distinguish between that type of plan which considers planning for the state as a whole both in territory and in planning subjects, and the less complete type which is comprehensive in territory but not in subjects—such as the comprehensive planning of state parks or state highways singly.

State planning that is comprehensive in both territory and planning subjects may be said to have been effectively begun in two states, Illinois and Iowa.

In Iowa, a survey based upon adequate research to discover the existing tendencies of the forces at work—including both their causes and results, which will shape the physical development of the state—was begun about a year ago. Certain projects are already under construction—artificial lakes, woodland management, restoration of environment for wild life, etc.

In Illinois, the state planning project now lies in the hands of an official planning commission, authorized by the Legislature two years ago. Twenty members make up this commission, appointed by the Governor—manufacturers, publicists, conservationists, legislators, and business men. The project in Illinois will be more in the nature of continuous planning than of the preparation of a specific plan; and its function will be largely one of developing data for the use of existing public and private agencies.

In Wisconsin, the Legislature has en-

acted a statute which authorized the formation of a state regional planning committee. Thus far the accomplishment is not more than educational.

- A FORTY-MILE section of the Skyline Drive, along the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the Shenandoah National Park has just been completed by the National Park Service in cooperation with the Bureau of Public Roads. This road was built with funds made available to the national parks by the Emergency Construction Act of 1931. Until the lands proposed for the new park are turned over to the Federal Government, this entire road cannot be officially opened to the public. Twelve miles have been opened, and 25,000 persons in 6,000 cars have already traveled over it. It is the first section of a magnificent scenic highway which will eventually extend along the crest of the Blue Ridge the entire length of the Park; and it runs from Thornton Gap on the Lee Highway to Swift Run Gap on the Spottswood Trail. The altitude is from 2,300 to 4,000 feet.
- THE MINNEAPOLIS Journal is conducting a vigorous smoke abatement campaign which is bringing to light some interesting facts. It is pointed out that a residence lot in Minneapolis, 50 x 150 feet in area, receives seventeen bushels of soot a year. The average annual soot fall in Minneapolis is 540 tons. This soot, if ground in oil, would provide sufficient black paint to cover an area fifteen miles square, two coats. If the black smoke that continually is poured forth in the air were burned, factory, home, apartment and business block owners in Minneapolis would save \$3,-300,000 a year in fuel. The abolishment of the smoke nuisance would save another \$1,000,000 in damage to buildings, merchandise, and household furnishings.
- Under the leadership of Wynne L. Van Schaick, chairman of the Tree Planting Committee of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, a definite program of planting and roadside beautification has been undertaken. A survey of the major arteries leading into the city showed that no planting of any sort had been done on these streets. Traffic problems, soil conditions, and sidewalks were all studied before a recommendation for types of trees for each street was submitted. Twenty - five organizations adopted the program and submitted resolutions favoring it to the Council. This widespread interest induced the City Council to adopt the plan. Despite the handicap of lack of funds, five miles of streets were planted through the use of the unemployed and with funds raised by the local committee of the President's Emergency Organization.
- Mrs. Henry B. Tricc, president of the Texas Federation of Garden Clubs, informs us that the Texas Park Board has given to the Federation a hundred acres of Burnet Park, to be used as a wild flower sanctuary. This gift is especially valuable as it adjoins the entrance of Longhorn Cave, the third largest cave in America.

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CARRYING ON

By Kirby, in the New York World-Telegram



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PART OF IT Note the thorny "responsibility".





By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

HE TURNED THE TIDE



By Darling, in the Des Moines Register

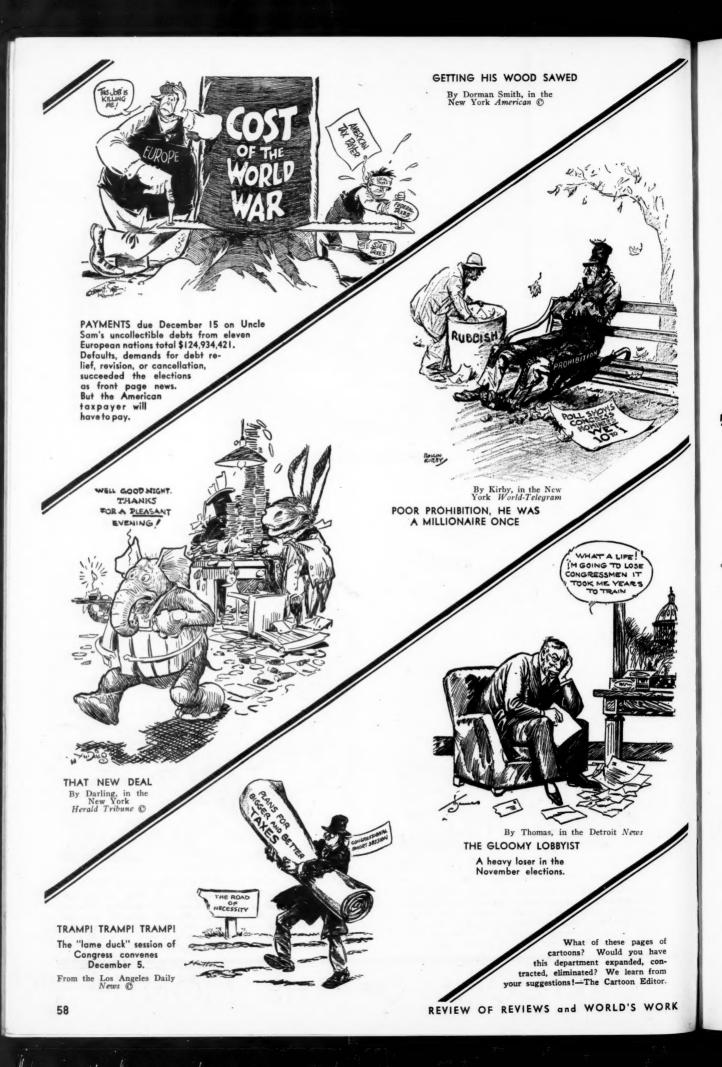
CLEVER, BUT CAN HE KEEP IT UP?

Governor Roosevelt's campaign won the support of opposing factions on all the major problems of the day. Each believes him amenable to its cause. Obviously some will be disappointed. The large Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress practically assure Rosevelt, as President, of adequate support whatever decisions he may make.



WHILE WE'RE WAITING FOR THE MAIN ORDER

All signs point to a definite movement of the country out of the depression. Yet the present winter overtakes millions of jobless for whose relief a nation-wide drive for hundreds of millions of dollars is under way. Care of the needy is the problem of each community and is of state or federal concern only when the distress strains local resources.





By Warren, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger

STILL HANGING ON Uncle Sam's burden is comparatively light.

WE DIDN'T TRADE HORSES-JUST RIDERS

If we were only cer-tain that roughriding runs in the family.

By Darling, in the Des Moines Register





By Sykes, in the New Evening Post

"NOW LET'S GET BACK TO WORK!"

Newspapers from Maine to California applauded President Hoover's overtures of coöperation with Governor Roosevelt; placing service to the nation above personal feelings and politics.



By Enright, in the New York American ©

POSTSCRIPT

POLITICAL Campai GN

HUMPTY DUMPTY 1932

The original Humpty lost his balance. Consensus has it that his modern counterpart was de-liberately pushed.

By Warren, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger



DECEMBER, 1932

A SURVEY OF THE MONTH'S MAGAZINES

Until Tomorrow

By Frederick Lewis Allen, in Ladies' Home Journal.

DEFERRING to depression as a challenge, Frederick Lewis Allen, the au-thor of "Only Yesterday," advises the feminists of yesteryear how to take their place and help, as women of today, in the world crisis. He advises them to salvage and save the lessons that the de-

pression should teach us all.

"As millions of us adjust ourselves to circumstances, a good many hard lessons are being driven home to us. When one speaks of the lessons of the depression, one is likely to be misunderstood. We sometimes hear it said that the depression has come as a retribution for our folly in the nineteen-twenties. This seems to me a cruel and unjust doctrine. As a system of punishment for the excesses of other years, the depression is a flat failure. Even so, the lessons may be worth setting down for reference, bitterly though we have to pay for them.

"First of all, we are getting down to hardpan in our ideas about personal and family finances. . . . We are learning that a debt is a debt. A few years ago there were people who spoke of a debt as an

exercise of one's credit.

"As citizens and taxpayers we were assenting without question to the lavish building of streets and sewer systems and schoolhouses which transferred to the future the burden of a larger and larger bonded indebtedness. In our collective capacities as well as in our private capacities we were victims of the delusion that we could lift ourselves into prosperity by buying ourselves into debt. Now we have learned the hard lesson that whatever is bought must be paid for.

"One of the blatant absurdities of the late era of prosperity was an exaggerated notion of the freedom of the individual. It is beginning to dawn upon the disciples of the new freedom of the nineteen-twenties that there can be no such thing as complete freedom unless one resigns from the human race. . . . Among women there is less than there used to be, a few years ago, of what a wise old doctor once called 'nervous prosperity.'

"Our American civilization has always set great store by the ability to make money. It is not to be wondered at that men indoctrinated with this theory of personal value feel humiliated when they lose their money and their jobs. Nor is it to be wondered at that women who have thought there was nothing so important as to look like a million dollars have felt when their incomes were cut that their self-respect was broken. .

"I believe that if all American women fully accepted the situation as it is today an enormous amount of the bitterness of disappointment which accompanies the depression would be quite assuaged.

"I particularly believe that American wives would be wise to remember that success in keeping up the morale of their husbands depends largely upon the completeness with which they believe that economic adversity in times like these is no disgrace. They must express this belief in indissimulating action, making it clear in everything they do and say. . . .

"If the women of this country rise to their inescapable responsibilities, and discharge them cheerfully and intelligently, the coming winter will be robbed of half its terrors. In that conclusion is a challenge to them such as they have

not faced in fourteen years.'

Big Prize Contest

By Robert Rantoul Endicott, in North American Review.

"You, too, can win \$50,000. Just write a few simple words."

This is the come-on signal to the prizecontest-conscious people of America. A generation ago contests were run on a simple scale for children, with awards of Shetland ponies, catcher's mitts, and shiny new bikes for the winners.

"The former contestants for ponies, now at least physical adults, compete for commissions and selling prizes by peddling more expensive stuff from door to door. What they as children once tried mostly in fun, they do today with a high and desperate seriousness.

The technique of the Big Prize Contest has therefore changed. It is the headline act on the Big Time, combining the best features of medicine show and pony contest glorified with better than Ziegfeldian artistry. The crowds are pulled in here with a hot-cha-cha and there with a bit of Brahms. The stakes have been multiplied many thousand times, making the Big Prize Contest more popular than any other indoor or outdoor sport. Not even a child wants a Shetland pony any more. People, including children, want automobiles, trips to Europe, and \$50,000.

"You may wonder why radio was selected as the principal medium to carry the tidings of easy money to the folks. There were really big obstacles to radio advertising even when good will was having its heyday. . . . Yet radio advertising began to show great increases in volume while other forms of advertising steadily declined. Why?

'The Big Prize Contest was the syrup that not only saved radio but gave her a stature far beyond her years. . . . A word game fascinates millions of people. It is always deceivingly simple at first. Its knotty complications never appear until the contestant has gone so far that he will never stop. . . .

"When such contests were new it was believed that advertisers would benefit because contestants would say the word over and over as they thought of words. Actually, contestants dissect the trade name into letters and never think of the name again. . . . Unless, therefore, they have to buy the product to enter, the advertiser probably loses money because now there are so many big word marathons that no single one makes much impression even when it is going on.

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But the contests do help paper and pencil manufacturers, alienists, oculists and psychiatrists. . . . What's more, publishers of encyclopedias, dictionaries, glossaries and other reference works have been refreshed by a mild flutter

in their business lately.
"Some of the big slogan and letter contests have attracted more than two million entries. All kinds of whimsies that take days and even weeks to make are sent in: a beautiful silk patchwork quilt with embroidered words and pictures; tricky electric displays; large books bound in leather with professional art work inside; and hundreds of less ambitious attempts to be different.

"So America's Prize Sideshow goes, playing to full houses day and night all over the land. Listen for yourself, tonight. As the crooner's voice fades away, as the band is stilled, the barker, radio script in hand, begins: 'And now, ladies and gentlemen, and kiddies too, here is the good news you have been waiting for. Here is how you may win \$50,000.

"And you and I and reillions more who say a cynical 'Oh, yeah?' are reaching, even while we say it, for our pencils."

Medicine Looks at Alcohol

By Haven Emerson, M.D., Graphic Survey.

B^{ONE} DRYS, the total and lifelong abstainers, may now learn why their brothers enjoy the demon rum. All the Dripping Wets may likewise learn a few of the more practical reasons why their abstemious sisters think drinking is bad for the human system.

Haven Emerson, M.D., in the November Graphic Survey, writes lyrically and romantically in one paragraph about the peculiar charms of liquor, but even as he is admitting that this drug aids a desire for relaxation, he assures us that any delight derived from it is purchased at the expense of our higher faculties. In an impartial, searching, scientific way, Dr. Emerson discusses the findings of an eminent group of medical men, in regard to the effects of alcohol.

Today's laboratory and hospital teach what the market-place and Congress will talk of tomorrow. The depressant action

of the brain, even in the least doses. and in all concentrations of alcohol in the blood reveals itself to the trained observer in poorer thinking, in less sensory acuteness and in delayed and weaker muscular performance."

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On the other hand, quoting Wallace, Dr. Emerson disposes of the old myth and tradition that a nursing baby is harmed by minute amounts of alcohol that leave the mother's body in her milk. According to the specialists in genetics-Stockard of Cornell and Davenport of Cold Spring Harbor-it is improbable that the quality of human stock has been at all injured by the long use of alcohol, and untrue that the offspring of alcoholics are of necessity defective. But alcohol as a medicine will never

again occupy the position it once held. We learn the reasons why humans use alcohol and take to it as a refuge. We see how difficult is the technique of living without the escape from self and environment granted by the narcotic, alcohol. The desire for alcohol is the desire for rest, for release from the tension, for freedom and abandonment.

"Human bookkeeping closes our accounting between man and the enemy he himself has created and made a friend of. And the story is always the same-more sickness, longer sickness, more and earlier deaths, where alcohol is easily accessible and abundantly used."

Wanted: Political Courage

By Charles Willis Thompson, in Harper's.

POLITICS and the people' come in for another criticism. Charles Willis Thompson, writing in the November Harper's, bemoans the lethargy that has settled upon the great American public. He cites one or two occasions when courage has been shown by our leaders of late years, but his laurel wreaths are few and far between. As he says: "Courage disappeared from American public life in 1919 and has been absent now for thirteen years. There have always been cowards in our politics, but never before has the whole nation become cowardly. Never has it dodged every vital question that came up.

"It is useless to blame the politicians alone for this present era of spineless drifting. It is the people who are to blame. Politicians are just people and they follow the cowbell. It is the American people who are showing the yellow streak and the white feather.

"There were politicians who saw it coming. One was Theodore Roosevelt, one of the last of the leaders. 'They have grown soft,' he used to say over and over again. He was talking of the

American people.

"Normalcy sounded good to the 1920 American, the fat, comfortable American who wanted to stay fat and comfortable, and Harding gave us the kind of normalcy we wanted; the type of normalcy that may be expressed as appealing to the 'bungalow mind.' In those days, as now, 'nobody wants to hear about politics, everybody wants to hear about Greta Garbo."

This country, according to Mr. Thomp-

son, has evaded the solution of every real problem that has arisen in the last few years, such as the cancellation of the war debts. The solution of this is too simple and straight for Uncle Sam, who is not Uncle Shylock, but Uncle Feeble Bombast.' We quote again:

"Mr. Furious-Feeble still reigns, and we combine the fact of not recognizing Soviet Russia with the fact of giving no adequate reason why we do not.

'For a long time no one of real prominence in our public life dared defy the Anti-Saloon League except Smith, Ritchie, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, and Senator Wadsworth. . . . In 1932 it became evident that the country was against prohibition; the politicians had guessed wrong and backed the wrong horse. Then ensued the most shameful flight in the nation's history. 'Leaders' (save the mark) who had been talking prohibition for twelve years began talking first resubmission, then when they found that was not adequate, outright repeal. . . . They can talk and they are doing it; but their influence on repeal, resubmission, or retention will be of the full weight of a snowflake."

The minds and mouths of Americans to-day are full of meaningless phrases-"weasel words" as Theodore Roosevelt was wont to call them.

'Months ago Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania, in a moment of despair over the thirteen-year palsy of democracy, said that what this country needed was a Mussolini. We do not need a Mussolini, but—oh, for an hour of Andrew Jackson!"

Next to the Teacher—Books

By Anson W. Belding, in the Journal of Education.

THE HUE AND CRY that has been raised recently concerning the reduction of taxes and the subsequent slashing of public expenditures has given rise to much controversy regarding proposed reductions in the cost of public school education

Balancing the educational budget is a task for experts and one that requires much concentration and thought. Certain gestures of economy that have been made by many of our politicians and public officials are neither farsighted nor

As Anson W. Belding points out, in the Journal of Education, the essentials of education must be maintained at a high standard, or the results will be deleterious to the youth of the country. As

"Books are necessary. They supplement and sustain good teaching. They supply part of what is lacking in a teacher who fails to measure up.

Yet, important as books are, they have been crowded into a small corner of the educational system. The public still thinks of books as occupying a large place in the schools. That is why a mayoralty candidate in the city of Chicago was able to win votes by promising to save the taxpayers a million dollars a year on textbooks alone; that sum being more than the whole cost of textbooks for that city in any year.

Perhaps it is not strange that the public at large is easily misled, but school authorities should know better. They should know that books make up less than 2 per cent. of the costs of public education in the United States. should know that a single school building in an average city may cost more than all the textbooks used that year in all the cities, towns, and hamlets of that

"Books have been a convenient plaything for the politician and the demagogue. And so we have a large per-centage of our school children using soiled and worn books, and gettingalong with other germs—a germ of dis-like for books. Books are the chief means of handing on the intellectual heritage of civilization."

Grand Opera-And Its Future

By Deems Taylor, in Vanity Fair.

HIMSELF a composer of operas—notably "The King's Henchman"—Deems Taylor notes a declining interest in opera. Writing in the November Vanity Fair, he comments:

"Last season there were only three permanently organized opera companies in the United States. This season there are-at this time of writing, at any rate -two. Something is wrong. The public is less loyal than we had supposed.

'What is wrong, I think, is that times have changed and the opera has not. The Metropolitan, like other opera companies in America, traveling and permanent, has come to the end of an epoch. It is fair to say that the Metropolitan was founded primarily as a social rather than an artistic institution. An art that is an integral part of the cultural life of Germany, France, and Italy is still regarded by Americans as an expensive, exotic luxury, a sort of highbrow nightclub in which to get rid of money in flush times; but like a night-club, something to forego without hesitation when money is less than easy to find.

'Americans, as a rule, do not think of the opera as a branch of the drama at But the thing that makes opera bearable is just its drama. The American does not understand this fact, simply because the drama of the operas he hears is given in a foreign language. What he needs is opera produced in such a manner that Americans can understand it.

"Let me describe my idea of how an experiment such as this could be carried out. First of all, the opera would have an opera house built to satisfy contemporary needs. I can image such a house being under the management of an American theatrical producer. He would be above all a showman, a man of the American theater, knowing, without having to be told, the tastes and reactions of the American audience.

"One thing is certain: Unless we try some experiment before long, those of us who love the opera will not be able to hear it sung in terms of any theater or in any tongue whatsoever."



THE ANCIENT CASTLE OF OZEGNA IN ITALY

Castle of Ozegna

TALY IS A highly romantic pen-insula—feudal as well as classical. Anna Lucia Chiesa tells of one of its ancient fortresses in Art and Archaeology for September - October. Her romantic discourse, delightfully trans-lated from the Vie d' Italia of Milan, runs as follows:

"In the strong, serene land of the Canavese, watched over by a vast cloister of mountains which hem in fresh vales of sparkling waters and forests odorous of woodsy smells and flowers, lies Ozegna, the ancient Eugenia of augural fame. Green and sunny it lies along its straight and pretty streets, flanked by whispering waters whose susurrant flow laves herbaceous banks. It is a town of melancholy for long dead things in the great patrician mansions now abandoned and neglected; and it has its castle—as has every other town of the region—floral with memories and legends.

"Seen from the north, with three massive, merloned towers, the Castle of Ozegna, now the property of His Royal Highness the Duke of Genoa, records heroic times: furious assaults, mad, desperate resistance, ruin and death. Often as the darkling clouds of evening render the grim black walls all the more forbidding against the mottled sky, and the voices of its owls-for ages unmolested denizens of the towers-make one think of a garrison immured there, I like to picture for myself the castle's greatest seige.

"Vividly I see a-flutter from the top of the loftiest tower the standard of the Counts of Biendrate. Below, outside the walls, I watch Teobaldo di Avanchier prepare his assault. The castle is fully garrisoned and munitioned, and resists. Upon the assailants rains down cruel death. But Teobaldo is valiant, and the banner that protects him is blessed. Again he attacks; and to this new, terrible shock the defense is not adequate. Ruin eats away the walls: they fall into crumbled heaps of stones. The banner of the Counts of Biendrate tumbles into the dust.

"Every rumor of war is silent; sentries pace the rebuilt walls: Teobaldo has become lord of Ozegna, by investiture of the Duke of Savoy. And the castle has been lengthened into a wide gallery ending in a round tower pierced by ogival windows. Perhaps from that little window which remains to this day, adorned with tiled ornament, more than one doleful chatelaine has let her gaze wander through the moonlight over the sweet Canavesan plain, scarcely veiled by scudding clouds.

"In the vast frescoed chambers, hard by the monumental sculptured chimneyplaces, what stories have been narrated by pilgrims, what songs sung by wandering buffoons and troubadours, come to break the tedium of the long winter days! Many a lovely eye here must have veiled itself in tears, many sweet lips have forsworn the smile, as roguish glances had access to them for an instant in looks that left behind naught but the futile melancholy of dreams.

"For which one of these lovely recluses was created the priceless dressing room decorated with Pompeiian motives, and handed down to us practically intact? What brave love story could be told by the statuettes which in their niches confronted the beauty of the living woman who moved about in so splendid a setting?

"If all the lovely ladies who lived behind these walls could only return and tell us their stories, not many-probably none-would speak of joy. Very, very few would be the eyes shining with hap-piness. The trouble, the implacable enmity all about must have quenched more than one smile, veiled more than one glance from the grey old pile.

"Rebuilt even to the mighty walls of its bastions and girt about with a deep and ample moat, Ozegna could boast of being a well conditioned fortress; and under the protecting shadow of its towers, within the inviolability of its walls, jammed together about the mighty overlord, how little habitations multiplied-wretched, tiny dens hardly more than scooped out of the earth and reinforced with big stones. Later, when these troglodytes aspired to the sun, one by one there arose ugly little houses piled one upon another, separated by tiny alleys and forming a regular suburb. Today, though in great part rebuilt and cleaned up, the tiny houses form the most characteristic part of the region, still called the Ricetto (Retreat, Asylum).

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"Dark tales linger on the lips of the old men of the countryside, relating crimes committed in the subterranean labyrinth of the castle, which extends so as to form a secret gallery which, passing beneath the channel of the river Orco, comes up at Rivarolo under the

castle of Malgrà.

"Although almost unknown and completely abandoned, Ozegna is one of the richest of Canavesan castles in both memories and warlike exploits. Bitterly fought for by all the lords of the region because of its strategic position, it knew no peace under the white cross of Savoy. Its power was brief, but the solid stamp of it still remains in the ruins of the thickly ivied walls and in the three square towers that faithfully maintain their haughty ward against the menace of the distant mountains."

Art and Archaeology, a beautiful magazine product, is directed by one of America's leading editors—Arthur Stan-

ley Riggs.

Training in Disarmament

G^{ENEVA} IS ALWAYS a center for advanced research in human betterment. Wolfgang Schwartz, writing in the Voelkerbund, organ of the German League of Nations Union, tells an interesting story. Says he:

"To the profit of all, there was held at Geneva a training course in disarmament, organized by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. The numerous participants, men and women, originated in about equal numbers from Germany, Great Britain, France, Switzerland, United States of America, and from smaller countries.

"Three instructors comprised the faculty, namely, Mr. Arnold Forster, widely known for his activities in the British disarmament movement, former naval officer, author of the official history of the British blockade, who resigned from the British delegation at Versailles when the blockade was illegally prolonged after the conclusion of peace; the young French jurist, M. Joxe, an active member of the Paris Bureau of the French League of Nations Society, who belongs to the political left of his country, and for Germany, the author.

"The course was held in a castle-like school building, surrounded by an old park, and known as La Grande Boissière. There the participants lived together for fourteen days, which contributed to creating the basis of that mutual respect, which is the one condition for the success of a course which included mostly nationals of more mature years from the major countries which participated in the World War.

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"The three instructors considered it invaluable not only to transmit technical disarmament knowledge, to show the contradictions between the Versailles disarmament methods and those of the armed powers at the present Conference, but also to lead the discussion to the national fears, wishes and aims of a political nature back of them. Thus the participating foreigners suddenly realized, during the discussion on the insecurity in the east, that the worries about East Prussia and the Polish Corridor were a psychological reality. The Frenchmen and the Englishmen through the reporting of personal experiences learned for the first time to understand something of the effects of the Allied blockade against Germany, whereas hitherto they have really been of the opinion that only the German U-boat blockade against Great Britain had been terrible. Likewise, they came face to face, as a living reality, with the German sentiments as regards the war guilt clause of Versailles; and they realized the effect which the delaying of disarmament over many years must have in Germany. It surely was clear to all that the German demand for equality in armaments is an unavoidable means of pressure in the battle around general disarmament.

"The removal of discrimination through Part V of the Treaty of Versailles was also understood, as was the necessity of taking a first decisive step toward equalization of armaments. On the other hand, the German participants also learned to understand many things about the French security psychology and to differentiate between the effects which the carrying on of the war upon French soil must have had upon the French people, and the criminal and peace-disturbing propaganda of the French armament industry and its subsidized Parisian newspapers, which systematically undermine France's every feeling of security. Nor was the realization unimportant in this connection that, precisely with reference to foreign policy, the developing French provincial press is beginning to shake off the domination of the Parisian press. Equally invaluable to the participants was the insight into the popular movements for disarmament, marching alongside and independent of parties, in the Anglo-Saxon countries, especially in the United States, which makes comprehensible the original force with which the Hoover plan was submitted-despite the elections, not as a party matterthe Conference which at Geneva had lost itself in a blind alley."

Jewish Siberia

THE SOVIET UNION is fast becoming a world in miniature. Cultural autonomy is offered to all racial

and linguistic groups, as evidenced by Ukrainian, Georgian, and Turkoman federal states, and that of the German Volga. The latest addition is to be a Jewish state, described as follows by Ralph W. Barnes in the New York Herald Tribune:

"The Soviet government has decided to establish next year an autonomous Jewish republic on a large stretch of territory in the Amur River region of Siberia, north of the Manchurian frontier, which already has been set aside for Jewish colonization. The territory is called Beerobazhan, or Biro Bidjan.

"The move, it is stated, will give Russian Jews, as well as foreign Jews who have come here, full representation in the Soviet government through the Soviet principle of representation of nationalities. It is interesting to note that, when the projected step is carried out, there will be within the Soviet borders a Jewish national state, an achievement striven for in Palestine without success.

"Information concerning the Soviet plans was obtained by Lord Marley, chairman of the British Parliamentary committee which supports the Society for the Industrial Relief of Jews in Eastern Europe, in the course of interviews he has had while here with officials concerning the Jewish question. The colonization scheme and establishment of the Jewish republic are considered especially important since the Jews are the principal sufferers from the liquidation of the commercial class. There are two and a half million in the Soviet Union. . . .

"The territory of Beerobazhan is about the size of the state of New Jersey, with 3,800,000 acres of virgin soil and forests, sufficient to colonize virtually the entire Jewish population of the Soviet Union. The Amur province, in which it is situated, is, according to a recent bulletin by the National Geographic Society, larger than France and contains almost as varied scenery as the United States. Although the winter temperature is below zero, winter months are often without snow and the short summers are comfortably warm. There are rich agricultural districts and gold and coal deposits. The forests are filled with bears, tigers, deer, wild boars, and wild goats."

Soviet Styles

"THE FIRST IMPRESSION the foreigner arriving in Moscow gets
is certainly not overwhelming," writes
Leo Lania in the Berlin Querschnitt.
"One has waited with eagerness to get
out of the train to make a first acquaintance with the red street life; and the
result—nothing. One sees: grey masses.
To distinguish the individual as an independent person is just as hopeless as
the attempt to follow a wave in a stream.
Everybody seems to be in uniform. And
yet: only a small part of the populace
wears the brown uniform of the Red
Army, the others: jackets, blouses, etc.
This is certain, the men are less uni-

formly dressed than in Berlin or London. But the character of these garments is uniform. Poverty does that. And chiefly—the cap.

"The cap is a token of New Russia. If you happen to see somebody with a hat you know: foreigner. To be more correct: member of an embassy, because even the foreign engineers, technical engineers and industrial, have been converted to the cap; they do not want to arouse attention.

"Among the members of the government, Stalin wears always the same military cut blouse with coat and military cap. Only Kalinin, as President, has the assurance to wear a soft hat. During parades and demonstrations it is the only hat on the government tribune.

"FOR MEN THE CAP, for women the kerchief! Elegant women wear the beret. On holy days the kerchief is red, but worn by hundreds and thousands they are only red spots on a grey background. And grey chokes red.

"The cap, the radical refusal of the hat, is perhaps the only fashion law of the Soviets. There are, nevertheless, some caprices of fashion. The aid provided to the different tribes and nations of the Soviet Union, for the development of their racial and cultural peculiarities, make certain national garments popular in all Russia. The cap of the Tartars, round and embroidered in colors, which is permitted to cover only the back of the head, is worn nowadays everywhere. Gorki, who never parts from it, is an enthusiastic apostle of this cap.

"The Caucasus gave the belt to them. The narrow leather strap with silver buckles is Georgian. It expresses, with its artistic finish and dangling dagger, the distinction and the political importance (once the wealth) of the proprietor. Beautiful and richly adorned belts, as in the Caucasus, are not to be seen in the big cities of Russia.

"The highest elegance, and the most ardent dream of the Bolshevik, is the leather coat. It represents the Americanization of New Russia. The higher functionaries, the G. P. U., the Army, the female Soviet official, and the member of the great ballet—all of them are enthusiastic about the leather coat. The more sportslike this coat is, the better they like it. The uniform of the Army too stresses more the sporting and less the military character: comfortable blouses, low collars, breeches, more American than a German army coat and very becoming.

"The people in Moscow wear (until the first of May) coats, galoshes, and furs. After the first of May they appear in shirtsleeves and tennis shoes. From winter one leaps right into summer without any transition, though the change of weather is by no means so sudden. But such habits prove over and over again the incapacity of the Russian to adopt a middle course.

"The uniformity of Moscow's streetlife, the impossibility to recognize an individual in the mass, appears strange during the first three days. You get used to it afterwards; you hardly perceive the general poverty of the cloth-

ing, whether the women's skirts are long or short, if the color of the blouses matches the color of the skirts, or how oddly combined the garments are. All

that is of no importance.

"But when you step out again for the first time in Berlin, the impression is confusing. At first you imagine it to be on a masquerade, you believe all the men and women to be in costumes, even that you yourself might be a spectator or actor in a big show. And not until now do you become conscious of the whole contrast: there you couldn't see the individual for the uniform grey mass, here in this confusion of shape and color, in the quick change of silk stockings, red lips, women's profiles, smart hats, and many colored ties, you can not get the collective view."

American Quarterlies

THE FIELD OF American magazine literature is fortunate in its ample assortment of scholarly quarterly reviews. These quarterlies, whose general range of topics varies widely, have a common seriousness of purpose, combined with dependability and thoroughness of treatment. A few of the quarterlies, with a brief survey of the more important articles in their latest num-

bers, are as follows:

Foreign Affairs is published by the Council on Foreign Relations, of New York City. Its editor is Hamilton Fish Armstrong, backed by an able editorial advisory board including Newton D. Baker, Isaiah Bowman, George H. Blakeslee, John W. Davis, Charles G. Dawes, Stephen P. Duggan, Harry A. Garfield, Edwin F. Gay, and George W. Wickersham. The October number includes articles by Sir Arthur Salter, Benedetto Croce, Walter Lippmann, Harold Laski, Richard von Kuehlmann, Dr. Eduard Benes, and Count Carlo Sforza. "The Position and Prospects of Communism" by Laski; "Germany and France" by Kuehlmann; and "Versailles: Retrospect" by the editor, are perhaps outstanding. Count Sforza has outlined "The Fascist Decade" vividly. Foreign Affairs includes valuable foreign and domestic book notices.

The American Scholar-now in its first year-is the brain-child of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. Its editor is William Allison Shimer, and there is a prominent editorial board. Its content is cultural—a synthesis of the arts and sciences essential to liberal education. The October number contains three selections pertaining to William James; and articles by Louis Adamic, Carleton Beals, and Norman Hapgood, among others. "The Philosophy of Bolshevism, by Hans Kohn, is of especial intellectual

The South Atlantic Quarterly, is a product of Duke University, Durham, N. C. For October, "Who Rules France?" by Pierre Crabites; "Pan-Americanism in Practice" by J. Fred Rippy; and material relative to Voltaire, Rousseau, and Goethe are of interest. Dr. Rippy, well known authority on Latin America, is

distinguished as a famous Duke professor.

The American Historical Review is the organ of the American Historical Association, and its editorial board is high in the realm of scholarship. Henry E. Bourne is editor. The October number contains articles on Garibaldi's American contacts (by H. Nelson Gay); on the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico in 1846 (by Lota M. Spell); and on the John Brown raid (by Ralph Volney Harlow). Much space is devoted to the careful reviewing of historical books, foreign and domestic, which is done with an almost inimitable care and thoroughness.

The Journal of Negro Education is connected with the College of Education, Howard University, Washington, D. C Devoted to a subject of pressing importance, its October number takes up colored education in the British Empire, library service for the colored, commercial education in colored colleges, and similar worthwhile topics. Its contributors are well qualified, and well known

in educational circles.

The Harvard Business Review, published by the graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, deals with economic subjects of varied scope. The October number takes up such topics as Soviet credit, Austrian depression, "free gold," the cotton textile machine industry, marketing of bituminous coal, and stock dividends. Harry R. Tosdal is faculty editor, and Carl F. Taeusch is managing editor. The faculty editorial board includes a stellar collection of business theorists. Freedom of opinion is especially accorded to all contributors. Wallace B. Donham has written "The Attack on Depressions" for October.

The Geographical Review, of the American Geographical Society of New York, covers for October, "The International Congress of Transoceanic Aviators" by Sir Hubert Wilkins; "The Rise of Civilization in China" by C. W. Bishop; "Lost Valleys of Peru" by Robert Shippee, and similar informative studies. "Voting Habits in the United States," with maps, by John K. Wright, is a timely contribution for the fall of 1932.

The Political Science Quarterly, issued for the Academy of Political Science through the efforts of the Columbia University faculty of political science, is studious and detailed in treatment. The managing editor is Professor Parker Thomas Moon, of Columbia. The periodical is non-partisan as regards public questions. For September there is a study of German political institutions, by Lindsay Rogers; a treatise on the organization of the Danubian area, by Count Stephen Bethlen; and a study of Thorstein Veblen, by Joseph Dorfman. The book review section is extremely able, the work being done by acknowledged experts. The German political article is especially recommended, with its complete survey of post-war republican cabinets.

The Yale Review, edited by Wilbur Cross, is published by the Yale University Press. Though scholarly and intellectual, it is more popular in tone than some of the more academic quarterlies. Here again, important book reviewers play a notable part; and the Fall number covers a dazzling array of topics, outlined by distinguished names. editorial council includes James Truslow Adams, Edgar S. Furniss, Alvin Johnson, and Walter Lippmann. The publication has no official connection with Yale University.

Two Iowa quarterlies of importance are the Iowa Journal of History and Politics, published by the State Historical Society; and the Annals of Iowa, a product of the Historical, Memorial, and Art Department of Iowa at Des Moines. Edgar R. Harlan is curator. The Iowa Journal, of Iowa City, is edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Both magazines are historical.

Harvard quarterlies include the Harvard Graduates' Magazine, edited by Bernard DeVoto. Its field is mainly literary and collegiate, with much pertaining to Cambridge. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, edited by F. W. Taussig, is devoted to mercantile and sociological problems, varying from the demand for milk and butter to the theory of international values. It is well worth study by the economic-minded.

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HE Virginia Quarterly Review, The Virginia Quarter of published at the University of Virginia, reminds the reviewer of the Yale Review in its composition and content. However, it devotes considerable attention to cultural studies of the South and its development. In the October number there are capable book reviews; and excellent articles by Allen Cleaton on "The Press in Petticoats"; by Joseph Wood Krutch on "Art, Magic, and Eternity"; and by Katherine Anne Porter in "Hacienda"-a Mexican sketch. This quarterly is edited by Stringfellow Barr. The excellent Sewanee Review, of the University of the South, is a magazine of similar type. Its able editor is William S. Knickerbocker; its field is "life and letters."

Three western historical quarterlies are Minnesota History, organ of the Minnesota Historical Society of Saint Paul (edited by Theodore C. Blegen); the Wisconsin Magazine of History, published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and edited by Joseph Schafer, devoted largely to local research; and the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, whose managing editor is Arthur C. Cole, of Western Reserve University, Cleveland. All of these periodicals are

able and important.

Three additional quarterlies of marked interest are the American Labor Legislation Review, published by the American Association for Labor Legislation, New York City, whose editor is John B. Andrews; the Journal of the American Statistical Association, of the American Statistical Association, Columbia University, edited by Frank Alexander Ross (Irving Fisher is president of the Association); and the American Journal of International Law, product of the American Society of International Law, Washington, D. C. George Grafton Wilson is editor-in-chief. His international articles are profound offerings to the student of diplomatic relationships.

The March of Events

From October 14 to November 14

Elections-1932

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Democrats and Wets take the

MERICAN ELECTIONS (November 8) A show a decided swing from the Republican to the Democratic party. Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Speaker John Nance Garner, Democratic nominees for President and Vice-President, receive 472 electoral college votes controlled by 42 states. Their popular plurality over President Hoover and Vice-President Curtis, out of some 37,-000,000 votes cast, is approximately 6,500,000. Six states, with 59 electoral votes, are carried by the administration: Pennsylvania, Delaware, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine. Norman Thomas, nominee of the Socialist party, receives slightly less than 750,000 votes.

GOVERNORS are chosen in thirty-four states. All but six are candidates of the Democratic party.

No RECENT EXECUTIVE has had party support in Congress equal to that indicated for President-elect Roosevelt. Elections to the House of Representatives in the Seventy-third Congress are as follows: 314 Democrats, 111 Republicans, 4 Farmer-Labor, 6 are still doubtful. The House is thus overwhelmingly Democratic. Of 34 Senators elected, all but 7 are Democrats. The Senate's complexion is therefore 59 Democrats, 36 Republicans, 1 Farmer-Labor.

FOUR Republican Senators long prominent in administration affairs are defeated: Bingham, of Connecticut; Watson, Indiana; Smoot, Utah; Moses, New Hampshire. Representative LaGuardia, insurgent Republican from New York, is also defeated.

As a result of the election, House and Senate both have strong Wet majorities. But it is believed that only the House has the two-thirds necessary to change the Constitution. Quick legalization of beer, while still retaining the Eighteenth Amendment, is considered a strong possibility.

VOTERS in eleven states express their wishes in regard to continued enforcement of prohibition. In each case, Dry forces are defeated. States in which the prohibition question appears on the ballot are: Louisiana, Michigan, New Jersey, California, Washington, Oregon, Colorado, Arizona, North Dakota, Connecticut, and Wyoming.



TALKING DISARMAMENT—France's Premier Herriot (left) and England's Prime Minister MacDonald hold an impromptu conference at Victoria station, London.

Arms and Debts

American, English, and French plans to reduce arms . . . Europe wants a reconsideration of war debts.

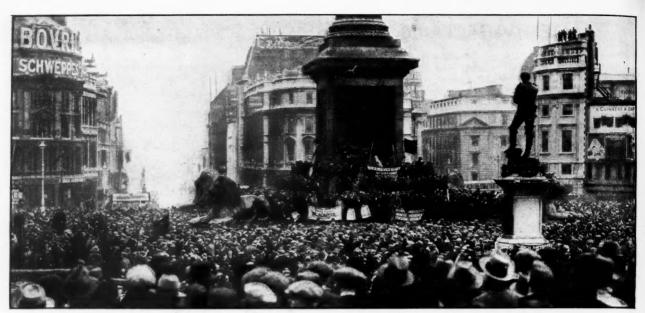
PREMIER MACDONALD'S plan for a fourpower conference on the question of German arms equality meets difficulties (October 14) as Germany announces that she will not attend the conference if it is held in Geneva. She does not want the four-power parley to have any possible connection with the larger Geneva Disarmament Conference—from which she withdrew in September. Premier MacDonald-to please Germany - had hoped to have the new conference in London. He had consented to Geneva when France indicated that she would attend only if that was made the meeting place.

The United States State Department agrees (October 21) to extend for four months after November 1 the year-old international truce on arms construction. The extension is suggested by the Geneva Conference and accepted by twenty-seven nations to eliminate competitive building and thus better the general atmosphere in which the Conference will reconvene next year. It does not apply to construction already under way or to replacement of old units.

"Defense is the first and most solemn obligation placed upon the federal Government by the Constitution," says President Hoover in observing (October 26) Navy Day—the 157th birthday of the American navy. His speech expresses the thought that if present disarmament moves fail, the United States will have to build its navy up to the maximum limits "provided by the London agreement, equal to that of the most powerful in the world."

ENGLAND AND AMERICA stand together in the belief that the Hoover plan for a one-third reduction in armaments should be made the basis for arms discussions. English acceptance of this position is attained (October 27) by Norman H. Davis, representing President Hoover, following several weeks of consultation with British Government officials.

GERMANY AND FRANCE will approach a basis of arms equality if the new French disarmament plan is accepted, Joseph Paul-Boncour, French Minister of War, indicates (November 4) at Geneva. As originally stated by Premier Herriot (October 28) the French plan calls for the disbanding of all professional armies and the substitution of national "defense" militias based on short-term conscription. International supervision of militias, and of agreements limiting arms, would be permitted. The United States would be asked to participate in a consultative pact; and compulsory arbitration of disputes would be included. This plan, approved by the French Chamber



ENGLISH HUNGER MARCHERS, protesting against the "Means Test" imposed on dole applicants, massed about the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square, London, late in October.

of Deputies, is considered by Germany's Chancellor von Papen an excellent basis for future discussion (November 8).

Texts of the English and French notes to the United States-asking for an extension of the war debt moratorium and an American reconsideration of the whole debt question-are made public (November 13) by the State Department. Both debtor countries imply a connection between the Lausanne agreement on reparations and the burdensome war debts-a connection always denied by America. Neither note acknowledges that important decisions on the debts rest with Congress; or that only ten days lie between the opening of the Congress session and December 15-next scheduled date for payment on debts, which the notes ask be postponed. President Hoover immediately telegraphs President-Elect Roosevelt asking him to attend a Washington conference. Purpose of the desired meeting is to insure a concerted American attitude in spite of the impending change in administrations.

Foreign Elections

France . . . Chile . . . Cuba . . . Germany.

FRANCE'S SWING to the liberal Left—shown in last May's election—is confirmed (October 16) in an election contest for 111 seats in the Senate. As a result, Premier Herriot's position is strengthened. Unlike the general election for the Chamber of Deputies last May, voters in the Senatorial contest are limited almost exclusively to holders of local offices—hardly more than a thousand in all. The Senatorial term is for nine years.

FORMER PRESIDENT Arturo Alessandri is elected President of Chile (October 21). His first term lasted from 1920 until 1924. A Liberal, his victory at the polls

this year is over Socialist Marmaduque Grove. Grove, early in the summer, headed an aggressive revolution which seized the government from the revolutionary party of Carlos Davila. For the past few months a supreme court justice, Abraham Oyanedel, has been provisional President.

Cuba's election (November 1) to fill half of the seats in the House of Representatives, select two Senators, and award all municipal and provincial posts, returns the Liberal party of President Machado to all disputed positions.

ADOLF HITLER meets his Waterloo in another German general election (November 6). His Reichstag delegation is reduced from 230 to 195, with a loss of 2,000,000 votes. The Communists increase from 89 to 100; and the conservative Nationalists from 37 to 51—capitalizing the Hitler slump. The Reichstag is again so divided against itself that Chancellor Franz von Papen is expected to continue in office.

Tariffs and Taxes

Tariff walls go higher . . . And experts find no common ground . . . Tax on American beer?

O NE HUNDRED and eighty prominent United States economists petition President Hoover (October 16) to exercise his rights under the flexible provision of the Hawley-Smoot tariff and lower rates that are causing tariff reprisal abroad. The group indicates that lower American rates would be followed by lower European rates, thus helping United States farmers and laborers by increasing their markets. The group—led by Columbia University's Professor Bonbright—is the same one which in 1930 urged the President to veto the Hawley-Smoot tariff. On the same day Chan-

cellor von Papen, of Germany, says that his country's private debts can be met only in proportion to the amount of goods Germany can sell abroad; that present prohibitive tariffs will make it impossible for that country to meet private obligations.

PROMPT and complete repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment is urged in a statement issued (October 23) by the Voluntary Committee of Lawyers, Inc. Benefits claimed by this organization are: a balanced national budget, lower income and real estate taxes.

A TAX ON BEER, if legalized at the December meeting of Congress, would equal 75 per cent.—or \$754,000,000—of the total 1932 income tax. This figure is set (October 24) by the Investment Bankers Association, holding its annual meeting at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.

PRESIDENT HOOVER asks the Tariff Commission (October 24) to investigate import duties on sixteen classes of commodities—ranging from cutlery to chemicals—produced in thirty states. He suspects that tariffs on these goods are not high enough to protect American workmen from the effect of imports from countries with depreciated currencies.

"This country was developed under a protective tariff and it cannot get along without one," says Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation (October 27), in advocating a higher protective tariff for the steel industry.

AT THE END (October 31) of the first four months in this fiscal year, the United States government had incurred a \$629 million deficit. Receipts were \$566 million; expenditures, \$1,195 million. This year's deficit is less than that for Continued on page 77

A Fortress of Health



N peace-time as well as in war-time a hospital is a fortress of health.

Our fine, modern hospitals are the richest storehouses in the world of medical knowledge and skill. They are health centers which guard the people of their communities.

While your hospital is nursing the sick and the injured, its laboratories are finding new ways to protect your health. As a result of medical research in hospitals, many diseases are disappearing.

Modern surgery, aided by skilful nursing in hospitals, restores to health tens of thousands each year.

In the past, people generally have thought of hospitals merely as the best places to which they could go in case of accident or when an operation was unavoidable. Today people are rapidly beginning to realize that the hospital is the best place in which to be in event of any serious illness.

No home, no matter how comfortable, is so well equipped to furnish the many forms of service—any one of which may be needed instantly and imperatively—as a properly conducted hospital.

People unfamiliar with the wide scope of hospital work think only of the patients in hospital beds. One great hospital in New York City treats in its clinics an average of 1400 visiting patients each day. The hospital of the future will play an even greater part in caring for the health of the people. It will be a medical center which radiates health protection.

National, State and County hospitals are supported by taxation. A few private hospitals and sanatoria are on a self-supporting basis. But the great majority of private hospitals are dependent upon endowments and sustaining contributions for bare necessities — proper equipment and needed surgical, medical and nursing staffs.

Appreciate Your Local Hospital.



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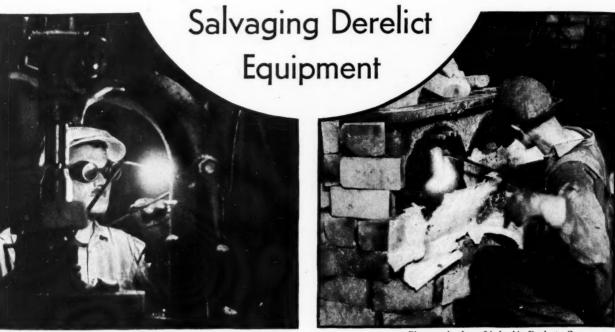
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Photographs from Linde Air Products Company

OXY-ACETYLENE welding provides a means of speedy repair without dismantling, as with the drill press pictured at the left, or of reclaiming expensive castings as shown at the right above.

SALVAGE of waste and of discarded and rejected materials is a vast industry within industry which nets handsome profits to those who believe in and pursue it. Henry Ford has been the prime exponent of salvaging derelict equipment. His organization bought 199 war-built steel ships that were rusting and rotting away at their moorings. Thirteen of these ships he reconditioned for service. The remainder were sawed apart by means of the oxy-acetylene flame. In dismantling these ships Ford saved practically everything. The fire bricks around the boilers were saved, as were the creosoted wood floor blocks. During the dismantling 4500 fire bricks and 75 kegs of nails were reclaimed each day. Every piece of wood more than eight inches long by one and one-half inches wide was saved. It is said that Ford saves everything from tacks to ocean-going vessels at a net profit of four to five million dollars annually. A great achievement.

The Ford organization reclaims string at one-third the cost of new string; it reconditions 12,000 drills each day; uses old oil drums for waste and storage cans; 150 mop pails daily are made from old paint cans at one-fifth the cost of new pails; 93 per cent. of machine chips from piston lathes are remelted.

Ford's greatest salvaging act has been in his purchase and disassembly of used automobiles. Since early in 1930 he has had a standing offer with every Ford dealer to pay \$12.50 at the plant for any used car which boasts a semblance of a set of tires and a battery. To date approximately 73,000 dilapidated cars have been put out of circulation.

This has served three purpose. First, it has aided the troublesome situation in the second-hand car market; second, it has removed many hazardous cars of all makes from the highways which were a source of danger to human life; and lastly, it has resulted in profits to the Ford Motor Company. These old cars yield half a ton of steel per car for remelting; glass for remelting and for factory windows; rubber for reclaiming; leather and imitation leather for aprons, gloves, polishing pads. Engines are cut out by the oxy-acetylene torch and disassembled. Even the oil and grease are reclaimed. A disassembly line has been set up, quite as efficient as the famous assembly line. The frames, bodies and all, after valuable parts have been removed, go into great 1000-ton crushers which press the dismembered cars together so they may be baled and fed into the "world's largest" 400-ton open-hearth furnaces and thus be the material for new Fords.

The Bell Telephone Companies through their manufacturing organization, the Western Electric Company, salvage thousands of dollars from old cables, thus reclaiming copper, lead, and paper. In 1930 the U. S. Bureau of Mines

In 1930 the U. S. Bureau of Mines brought to the attention of the oil industry the fact that millions of dollars could be saved annually by salvaging old equipment. Since then several companies have developed a profitable business in withdrawing casing pipe from old wells. These thousands of feet of pipe in each well were formerly left in the ground, neglected. Likewise the expensive oil-drilling bits are being reclaimed at noteworthy savings. A wornout 15-inch bit can be re-worked and cut down to a 10-inch bit at a labor expenditure of \$28. The 10-inch bit is worth \$144. The 15-inch bit formerly brought \$1.75 as junk.

THE A. C. Spark Plug Co. of Flint, Michigan, has been active in the field of waste reclamation. Here every conceivable bit of waste is thought of as a possible by-product—not as a piece of scrap.

This company has found that by proper segregation of waste, even junk value is increased many fold. In this plant all waste except steel turnings and chips passes through a separate building called the By-Products Department. Separate cans throughout the factory aid in the segregation and classification of waste. Even floor sweepings are saved, and from \$40 to \$50 worth of metal per month is reclaimed in burning these sweepings. Six hundred gallons of oil are saved daily from the metal-turning machines. Small chips are separated from the large turnings to get a better scrap price. A committee-consisting of the manufacturing superintendent, the chief inspector, a member of the engineering depart-

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ment, master mechanic, metallurgist, and head of the department-reviews wornout tools, jigs, and spoiled parts periodically to determine their salvagability. This committee often finds ways to prevent spoilage.

This By-Products Department has figures to show for its activities: Segregation of metal scrap increased salvage value \$33,000 in four months; washing waste rags saves \$5000 annually; by running their buffing wheels down to 6" instead of 8" or 10" as formerly, they have saved \$1200 per year and also sold the 6" core for \$360 per year; by reclaiming all solder drippings they save \$200 per month; another \$450 per month by resharpening old files; and by reclaiming the thinner used to remove paint from rejected parts they save another \$500 per

AT WEST TULSA, the Mid-Continental Petroleum Co. has a reclaiming department located in a separate \$10,000 building. Here everything, from wiping rags to valves and pipe, is reclaimed-including such items as goggles, gaskets, lumber, and meters. Ten men are kept employed. All operating expenses for this department totaled \$20,692 for a single year. The value of reclaimed material (including \$10,000 worth of junk) was \$216,276-a handsome profit from the scrap heap.

The L. E. Waterman Fountain Pen Company reclaims \$75,000 per year in precious metals from sweepings, turnings, and other machine operations. Most of the progressive companies manufacturing their products from precious metals filter and wash their air and reclaim dollars from the dust extracted, as well as from sweepings. In one year the Oakland Motor Car Company saved \$542,000 as a result of employees' suggestions to eliminate waste. The Southern Pacific Railroad reclaimed journalbox waste and oil at a saving of nearly \$80,000 per year. The U.S. Rubber Company sold 100,000 pounds of zinc oxide a month from the overflow in producing the bead on clincher-type tires. They sold small used tires to Spanish companies to cut up and use as sandals.

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A contractor found it would cost between \$4000 and \$4500 to buy replacement parts to recondition a large and busy power shovel. To save expense the contractor decided to arc - weld the broken and worn parts. There were 74 treads that needed repair. New treads would have cost \$35 each-a total of \$2590. The total cost of rebuilding them by arc-welding averaged 83 cents per tread. Shafting was built up, gear teeth replaced, brake drums repaired, and the frame strengthened, at a total saving of approximately \$3000 as compared with the cost of the new parts.

Electric arc and gas welding must not be overlooked as perhaps the most valuable single tool in rebuilding old and broken machinery and tools. Substantial sums of money and much valuable time may be conserved through the use of the silent flame in reconditioning and re-

habilitating old equipment. Scrap in industry may originate from three primary sources: first, obsolete or

worn out plant equipment (how often

If you have

URIC ACID

■ Excess uric acid is at the bottom of much needless suffering. It causes those shooting rheumatic pains. It stiffens the joints. It brings on kidney trouble, acidosis, gout, etc.

If you suffer from any of these ailments, see your doctor. One thing he may tell you is: avoid caffeine. He means the caffeine in ordinary coffee. It's a producer of uric acid.

However, if you like coffee, there is no reason why you shouldn't enjoy it.

Just try two weeks of Kellogg's Kaffee-Hag Coffee. This is a blend of finest Brazilian and Colombian coffees,-with the caffeine 97% removed. Drink all you want. Drink it morning, noon, night. Watch your uric-acid condition improve. Notice how much better you feel. But you'll still be enjoying coffee to your heart's content.

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we pass a factory where old machines, pumps, gears, lie abandoned in the junk yard); second, that which results from processing and machining the product manufactured; and, third, that which is shipped in-paper, lumber in the form of boxes and crates, corrugated board, twine, excelsior. These sources may yield a profit.

It must be borne in mind, however, that all salvaging of derelict equipment and material is not profitable. Salvaging should be placed in competent hands, preferably under the supervision of the works manager, the master mechanic, the production engineer, or the chief inspector.

Decisions as to the wisdom of salvage work must be based on these questions:

(1) Can the equipment be reconditioned at sufficiently low cost to give longer service profitably?

(2) Can the equipment be economically changed to fill some other service?

(3) Is there sufficient value in the waste material to justify the labor necessary to put it in salable or usable form?

In these days there has been too much demand by management to "Patch it up -use it a while longer-we can't afford to buy a modern machine in its place." As a result, too many plants are struggling along with old equipment which has been patched to serve a little longer. If this faulty equipment had been replaced by new, higher speed, more modern pieces, the plants would be producing a better product more economically than they ever hope to produce with reconditioned equipment.

Thus, there are two sides to this question of salvaging. But the fact remains that there are still millions of dollars to be extracted from our scrap heaps.

And Still We Have a Deficit

ongress reassembles on December 5 (the old Congress, elected in 1930), once more to legislate financially for a country hard hit by business depression. The storm itself has passed, all the forecasters seem to agree, but there is now a fear that the doldrums will get us if we don't watch out.

This expiring Seventy-second Congress has three months in which to pass the annual appropriation bills and—what is much more difficult—to provide the necessary revenue. It will die a natural death on March 4. Last year the same Congress used seven months for the same job, and quit then only because the end of the fiscal year (June 30) had been reached. The game of balancing the budget goes merrily on. As fast as new taxes are imposed, the yield from old taxes grows less; and then the estimates from the new taxes prove to have been over-optimistic.

Shall we have a manufacturers' sales tax? Our present House of Representatives a year ago said "No!" after one had been recommended by its own Ways and Means Committee. This magazine believes that a sales tax will fare better now. The argument for such a tax is simple. Our present system places reliance upon revenue derived from profits, the corporation tax being a conspicuous example. The yield from this corporation tax is dwindling, so that it may quite possibly cease in the next fiscal year to be a major source of income for Uncle Sam. Returns from the corporation tax in the last three fiscal years have been:

1930									\$1,263,414,000
1931									1,026,392,000
1932						_			629.566.000

Uncle Sam's unpleasant experience with this corporation tax during depression years has been repeated in only lesser degree with two other of his principal sources of revenue, the individual income tax and the tariff duties.

So new fields of taxation were entered a year ago, and they too have proved disappointing. To cite two examples: A tax of 2 per cent. was levied upon the manufacturer's sales price of automobiles; but only half as many cars are being sold this year as last year. The postage rate for letter mail was raised from 2 cents to 3 cents; but fewer letters are being written, and postcards and unsealed circulars have come into vogue.

Treasury Department reports separate the Government's ordinary receipts into three main divisions: income tax, miscellaneous internal revenue, and customs. In the first four months of the present fiscal year—July, August, September, and October—the receipts from "miscel-

laneous internal revenue" were 58 million dollars more than they had been in the corresponding four months of the previous year. This of course reflected the new taxes imposed in the Revenue bill adopted last June. But collections from the income tax in the same period fell off by 152 millions, and collections from customs fell off by 50 millions. Uncle Sam was playing a losing game in his effort to balance the budget.

A homely example of the failure of new taxes to meet estimates made in advance is afforded by a public utility. Let us suppose that each consumer formerly got his bill by mail and paid by mail with a check. Uncle Sam received 4 cents postage. Under the new revenue measure he may reasonably have expected to receive 8 cents, because of the 3-cent postage rate and the 2-cent tax on checks. But what happens? The company decides that it is cheaper to deliver its bills by hand, and more advantageous if it succeeds in collecting the money at the same time. The householder sees no reason why he should not pay the bill with cash when it is delivered, since he saves 3 cents in postage and the 2-cent tax on his check. Thus Uncle Sam formerly received 4 cents, hoped to receive 8 cents, and actually receives nothing

The Treasury's total receipts in the first third of the present fiscal year (including the new taxes) were 560 millions, compared with 704 millions in the same portion of the previous year. Expenditures were 1190 million, compared with 1365 million, indicating economy to the extent of 175 million dollars.

Thus the deficit on October 31, for a third of a year, was 630 million dollars. On the same day last year it was 661 millions. Plainly Congress failed in its attempt to balance the budget, and for the third year in succession a huge deficit is in prospect. Uncle Sam ran behind \$902,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1931. In the following year he was short \$2,885,000,000. It is hard to escape the belief that when this fiscal year comes to an end next June the deficit will again approximate \$2,000,000,000—unless Congress imposes new taxes in the present short session.

which will presumably be called in special session shortly after March 4—economists have already sharpened their pencils and begun to figure the tax value of its wetness. Repeal or modification of the Eighteenth Amendment will be a slow process, but it is widely believed that the Volstead Act can be changed immediately to permit the legal sale of beer and light wines.

This could be done in a few legislative hours, by a majority vote in each branch of Congress, with the reasonable expectation that President Hoover would not veto a measure so plainly resulting from the Democratic landslide in November. But the more orderly procedure would be to make legal beer a part of the revenue legislation that will require the full period of discussion and therefore not be ready before the 1st of March.

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Before prohibition this country consumed 60,000,000 barrels of beer annually. The federal tax on beer had been \$2.50 a barrel until as a means of raising war revenue it was increased to \$6 (about 5 cents a quart). If only 50 million barrels are consumed annually there is apparent a federal revenue of \$300,000,000 from a tax on beer alone. The estimate runs as high as a billion dollars if there is ultimate legal restoration of the use of all alcoholic beverages in those states which were Wet before national prohibition came.

Fifteen states have never had, or have lately abolished, their own prohibition enforcement laws; so that if the Volstead Act is amended the sale of beer and light wine can begin at once. These states, in the order of their consuming importance, are: New York, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Michigan, Massachusetts, California, Maryland, Louisiana, Washington, Montana, North Dakota, Nevada, Oregon, Colorado, and Arizona.

The anti-prohibition organization known as the Crusaders estimates that in those states alone and the District of Columbia a tax of one cent a glass on beer (which we figure to be slightly less than the old war-time rate) would yield a revenue of \$226,500,000. If Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio are added to the list, the revenue approximates \$300,000,000.

All this, so the argument runs, is possible of achievement promptly by a simple majority vote in the present Congress, changing the one-half of 1 per cent. alcoholic content permitted by the Volstead Act to 3.75 per cent. pre-war strength.

Thus the problems facing Congress are financial: further reduction in federal expenditures; new demands for the Bonus payment to veterans; declining revenues, with the possibility of a sales tax and a beer tax; a concerted action by Europe seeking relief from war debts. In addition, it is reasonable to expect that the legislators at Washington will tinker with the banking laws, the muchrevised Glass banking bill assuming first importance. Let us hope that Congressman and Senator alike are becoming increasingly well grounded in finance and economics.

HOWARD FLORANCE.

Britain Saves 130 Million

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A conspicuous phase of our third depression year has been the widespread demand for government bonds, which are by common consent the safest channel of investment-especially popular with wealthy individuals and corporations, with banks and insurance companies. As a consequence, these government bonds both here and abroad have risen in value, with a corresponding de-cline in yield. British consols, bearing 21/2 per cent. interest, rose to 76 late in October, achieving their highest value in the eighteen years since war began. They had been as low as 50 in 1931. At 50 their yield had been 5 per cent.; at 75 it was only 3 1/3 per cent.

These consols-an abbreviation for Consolidated Annuities - represent the permanent national debt of the United Kingdom. Their extraordinary rise in value reflects some measure of improvement in the British investor's spirit of hopefulness; but more than that it indicates the comparative scarcity of other

safe fields for investment.

Taking advantage of so favorable an opportunity, the British Government has successfully carried out a series of conversion operations. First it exercised its privilege of calling for redemption a 5 per cent. war loan issue of £2,086,000,000 (approximately ten billion dollars at the normal value of the pound sterling). The investor was offered his money, which of course the Government could not have paid; but he was given the alternative of accepting a new bond bearing only 31/2 per cent. interest.

What could an investor, either individual or bank, do with the money? Nothing, in most instances, except to find some new channel of investment; and there was nothing safer than the fresh bond issue which the Government was simultaneously offering. Such a treasury operation counts somewhat upon the patriotism of the investor, but it counts more upon the market. Picture a situation in which the Treasury at Washington would redeem \$10,000,000,000 in government bonds, offering only cash, when government bonds are the only thing large investors now seem to want!

So the British bondholders accepted the new securities, bearing 11/2 per cent. lower interest, to the sum of £1,920,-000,000. The owners of £166,000,000 asked for cash. This first conversion plan, launched in July, was followed by others which by November had brought the total to £2,500,000,000, or two-fifths of Britain's entire internal debt.

As a result of these adventures in the realm of simple finance, the depression is itself the means of saving the British taxpayer £40,000,000 annually (\$130,-000,000 at approximate current exchange) in interest charges.

In similar fashion the French Government has called for redemption its obligations to the amount of 85,692,000,000 francs (31/2 billion dollars), bearing interest at 5 to 7 per cent. The French investor is offered $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. rentes in exchange.

40 Million Dollars

in Dividends and Interest

DURING the 12 months ended June 1932, holders of Associated securities received \$40,093,000 in interest and dividends. • In the first 6 months of 1932 the number of registered holders of Associated securities increased 15,784 to a total of 252,899. Of these, 116,882 are customers who use Associated services to cook their meals, light their homes, and run their radios. Associated security holders are distributed

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For information about facilities, service, rates, write

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Our Banking System

Continued from page 32

Sound banking methods are the best and only guarantee of deposits. Therefore the only laws that are justified are those that-on the basis of experience, study, and careful consideration-formulate sound banking methods and enforce them upon all banks alike. Most banks do not need such law enforcement, but the public interest doubtless requires it in order to insure the security of the whole banking system.

I believe that any revision of our banking laws which may be undertaken should be primarily in the hands of a non-partisan, unprejudiced, advisory

commission representative of all elements in the body politic. I believe such a commission would find that, at heart, our banking methods and principles are sound; that we have already an ample body of basic law and official supervision; that any changes should relate to particular phases and not to general re-vision; and, finally, that the drastic, unfortunate, but necessary changes in the banking structure during the last three years have already gone far to correct the mistakes of the past.

I believe the present structure of 19,000 good banks—the real American banking system—has proved its strength and powers of public service in unquestionable terms during the nation's great-

est economic test.

PANICS, Crises, and **Depressions**

Edited by George E. Roberts, Vice-President, National City Bank, New York City.

 A concise, precise outline of past panics and depressions. Valuable to those who would know what lies back of industrial breakdowns. An indispensable booklet to those who want to understand what is happening now. Well bound in imitation leather, title in gold. This booklet (No. 16 on our list) will be mailed anywhere on receipt of 25c.

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Other handbooks originally prepared as a comprehensive library on economics for executives, all in the same conveni-ent size and style of binding, each book dealing separately with different im-portant subjects, are listed below. Twentyfive cents each while the limited supply lasts. (This price is actually below the cost of printing, due to a publisher's desire to liquidate stocks.) Use the coupon below and order by number.

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Roadside Development

Continued from page 53

- New Jersey. The State Highway Commission maintains a Landscape Department for the purpose of improving roadsides. This work has been carried on in organized form since 1930. About 1500 trees and more than 16,000 shrubs and vines have been planted. The trees include native oaks, red pine, Scotch pine, white pine, and native shrubs.
- MINNESOTA. On March 17, last, a conference on roadside development and use was held in the offices of the Highway Department at St. Paul. Committees were appointed to consider zoning with relation to advertising signs and structures, coöperation with property owners in connection with roadside planting, location of public-utility overhead lines, and various specific projects which would improve the appearance and utilization of the roadsides. Representatives present included those from public-utility companies, organizations of state and national scope, and many interested individuals. As a result, a definite program was adopted by the state. Cooperation in planting is being secured from the state Forestry Department and also from outside agencies.
- California. The planting and care of roadside trees has been practised by the Division of Highways of the Department of Public Works in California since 1918. In 1927, however, a more definite and complete program was adopted which involved all related work. Approximately 1000 trees and 6000 shrubs are planted each season, and more than 70,000 trees have been planted to date. The species most generally used are Arizona ash, planes, black walnut, oaks and native shrubs. Tree planting is done largely by outside organizations acting under permits issued by the Division of Highways.
- MARYLAND. Roadside development has been carried on by the state Roads Commission for nearly two years. Approximately 900 trees and 16,000 shrubs and vines have been planted, and 9000 square yards of sod placed. The state has been assisted in this work by various garden clubs.
- Louisiana. The state Highway Commission adopted a complete program of roadside development in 1931. With the coöperation of the American Legion, and under the supervision of the Highway Commission, more than 36,000 roadside trees were planted in that year. This is a part of a ten year plan of highway planting, involving 2,000,000 trees.
- FLORIDA. Various clubs and organizations are permitted to plant the highways in Florida under the supervision of the state Road Department. A law known as the Highway Beautification Act, effective in 1931, provides that the state Road Department and boards of county commissioners may proceed with the conservation, planting, and maintenance of roadside trees, shrubs, and

flowers, provided funds are appropriated for that purpose.

- OREGON. Roadside improvement in this state is largely a matter of preserving existing trees and shrubs along the highways. Some tree planting has been done, however, by the Highway Commission.
- ILLINOIS. The Division of Highways of Illinois adopted a program of roadside work in 1931. Some planting has been done, largely through the cooperation of outside agencies. In addition to removing signs from the highways, a large number of signs on abutting private property have been removed or altered through the coöperation of the advertising companies involved.
- VERMONT. The Department of Highways launched a definite program of roadside development in April, 1931. Since then the coöperation of various public spirited organizations has made possible the planting of about 2000 trees. These include Scotch pine, arborvitae, spruce, sugar maple, white pine, and American elm.
- New Hampshire. The state Highway Department has carried out an annual program of roadside development since 1929, resulting in the planting of many trees and shrubs. Coöperation is secured from outside organizations.
- Washington. No provision has been made for an organized program of roadside development by the state Department of Highways, but the roadsides are kept constantly free of advertising signs and debris. Trees are trimmed as they interfere with traffic, and planting is occasionally practised by outside agencies.
- COLORADO. The state Highway Department has not as yet engaged in the actual work of roadside development, although consideration is given to the general appearance of the highways as they are constructed and maintained.
- Many counties have engaged in roadside development independent of the states in which they are located. Wayne County, Michigan, more than 600 miles of concrete pavement is maintained; 75,000 trees and 150,000 shrubs have been planted; and ten modern comfort stations are operated. All the details are carried out by a division of the county road commission created for the purpose in 1922.

Other counties doing similar work include: Kent and Oakland counties, in Michigan; Milwaukee and Ashland counties, in Wisconsin; Westchester county, in New York; Los Angeles and Sacramento counties, in California; Mercer and Union counties, in New Jersey; Dade, Lee, Sarasota, Orange, and Broward counties, in Florida; and Lucas county, in Ohio.

Premium Bonds in France

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By Charles T. Hallinan, in Forum.

M OST PEOPLE are trying to figure out how to retrieve the money they have lost, rather than worrying about how to invest the surplus that may remain. But the problem of what the investor of small means may do with his money with safety is one of perennial interest. It is illuminating to note a solution that France has found and the opportunity she offers the man of modest income to invest his money with safety, practicality and the added advantage of possibly winning a fortune.

In the November Forum, Charles T. Hallinan discusses the premium bonds

of France. To quote:

"You have to hand it to the French. They escaped the roaring bull market of 1929 and its aftermath. The reason French investors escaped being drawn into such a stock market is that in France they are persistently shepherded into a peculiar type of investment called the premium bond. It differs from the ordinary bond only in this: When the bonds are drawn for redemption or retirement, certain numbers (chosen by lot) receive in addition large premiums or prizes.

For example, around \$24 will buy a French investor one of the French Government's Credit National 5 per cent. bonds of 1919. This \$24 is safe as long as the French Government is solvent. The investor gets very good interest, which he collects twice a year. He scans the newspaper occasionally to see if his bond, by great good fortune, has drawn a prize of \$40,000. Twelve times a year the great French Government tips up the cornucopia of Fortune, and some lucky investor receives a prize. These Credit National bond issues have smaller prizes in addition to the first prize of \$40,000; 23 individuals receive \$20,000 each, 17 get \$8000, 76 get \$4000; 142 get \$2000 each, and several thousands get smaller sums down to \$40.

"How can the Government afford to distribute such handsome prizes? It is very simple. The Government merely holds back a small portion of the interest which it expected to pay for the loan, and distributes that amount to the holders of 268 bonds chosen by lot.

"If you suggest that it is demoralizing for people to 'win' large sums of money this way, the Frenchman will ask you politely: 'Would \$40,000 demoralize you?' You reply, 'No, certainly not.' Then he remarks: 'Let's not be snobbish. If economic security and peace are good for you, they are good for everybody.

There is a psychological side to all this, of which the Government is not unconscious. You have to wait thirty days before you can draw out the money you have won. This gives the investor time to cool down and to consult with his banker about investment policies. No publicity is given, and this protects the winner from the customary sharpers."

Mr. Hallinan mentions the great difference between the opportunities open to the small investor in America and in France, and he deems this French experiment suggestive as well as interesting.

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Winter Cruises to the West Indies



OLUMBUS, as he sailed from island to island in the West Indies, was disappointed because he was failing to find the India and China he was sure lay across an unobstructed ocean from Spain. But the islands that baffled him, at the same time filled him with wonder and pleasure—as we know from the journal kept by his faithful companion, Las Casas.

Today the West Indies, closely related Bermuda, and the Caribbean shores of South and Central America, are still pleasing travelers. They draw visitors the year round, but their most popular season is winter. This winter, because such popularity is growing constantly, more people than ever before are expected to take vacations in these Atlantic tropics.

Those who do go—whether for a short cruise or for a month—will find adventure. Not the harum-scarum, Indianfilled adventures of Columbus as he cajoled temperamental caravels through uncharted seas, but adventure just the same. For whether you take your traveling straight, as did Columbus back in the days of the dangerous unknown, or under the guardian care of a modern liner and her crew, seeing new places and new things is still adventure.

The whole area has lately become such a popular vacation goal that most steamship companies—the French, Holland American, Canadian Pacific, and the Cunard Lines among them—are giving their finest boats winter schedules from New York to the new travel Mecca. You can take a four-day cruise today on boats that yesterday spent their time breaking each other's records on longer runs.

Most people who have taken a West Indies cruise remember the days at sea with even more pleasure than the ones spent ashore. All cruise managements provide entertainment both for days and nights afloat. The warm waters through which the boat plows, and the sunshine and fresh air, make these hours an excellent investment in good health and leisure.

Havana is now only two days from New York. Some cruises make it the first port of call, others save it for the last. No matter what length the cruise, you will probably be able to spend more time in Havana than in any other port.

Habaneros take advantage of their climate by spending much of the time in the open. American visitors, taking their cue, will enjoy the hours spent in sidewalk cafés or at Marianao, the bathing resort ten miles from the city. Listening to open air concerts at La Punta,

By HARRISON DOTY

natives and visitors watch the swirl of life—especially at night in this night-owl's paradise—along the Prado, as fine a boulevard as you can find on this side of the globe. There are other streets not as wide, but fully as interesting. O'Reilly, for instance, is waiting for souvenir and bargain hunters.

North of the Greater Antilles islands—which include Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, and Porto Rico as their largest—lie the Bahamas. They start just off the Florida coast and run, 3000 of them in all, counting tiny specks barely above the breaking rollers, parallel to the Greater Antilles as far as Haiti. The Lesser Antilles sweep away from Porto Rico, where their big brothers end, and curve southward to Venezuela at the northern tip of South America.

In the Bahamas is Nassau, a city more for playing than sightseeing, though there are many sights. Open air food markets, Bay Street—where John Barleycorn feels very much at home—the series of forts. Entrance to Fort Fincastle is through the Queen's Staircase, a passageway some thirty feet wide cut for seventy feet through solid rock. Forts Charlotte and Montagne, both dating from approximately 1750, have been besieged by revolutionary Americans, by Spain, and retaken by England herself.

Bermuda is a place where playing, resting, and sightseeing are joint attractions. The warm Bermuda group is not touched by the waters of the Caribbean. It is located as far north as Charleston, South Carolina. But it lies in the path of the Gulf Stream, and thus has many of the qualities found in the West Indies and Caribbean areas. Originally it belonged to Spain, claimed for his sovereign majesty by Juan de Bermudez in 1515. Since 1609, when Sir George Sommers, admiral of the English navy, was shipwrecked there, it has been British—officially so since 1864 when the Colonial Office took it over.

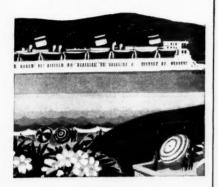
BERMUDA offers visitors a variety of things. Many Americans appreciate the fact that there is no prohibition law. There is fine swimming, golf, tennis, and boating. Some of the best game fish in the world abound in the crystal clear waters that wash the islands. Here it is that William Beebe has been climbing almost daily into his quartz - windowed "bathysphere" and dropping into the ocean to observe deep-sea life.

In the Caribbean area there are Kingston and Santo Domingo still to be vis-

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EURNESS

LEADS THE WAY TO BERMUDA ited. Kingston, on the British owned Jamaica, lies on the third largest and one of the loveliest islands in the region. Warm waters rush against good beaches. Inland are mountains, sharing their blue with the sea and sky. At their feet, along the shore, stand stately palms.

Santo Domingo is the main city of the black Spanish Dominican Republic. Almost a shrine, now, is the house that was built by Diego Columbus. There his father's name died out, for Diego's children died and Ferdinand Columbus—the other and younger son of Christopher—left no known male heirs.

AT THE other end of the island from the Dominican Republic is the black Republic of Haiti, which takes its name from that of the whole island. Here slaves brought over by the early Spanish and French colonists became so numerous and powerful that the whites were in perpetual fear. Voodoo flourished, Negro rites and customs prevailed. The black man continues his rule—though United States Marines stepped in during the course of difficulties in 1915, and helped to restore peace and order. Mountainous, but none the less full of tropic places, Haiti is one of the most interesting spots in the Caribbean.

Where the Greater Antilles end and the Lesser ones begin are Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Porto Rico was ceded to the United States after the Spanish - American war; the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark in 1917 for \$25,000,000. They are both under the administration of American governors: James R. Beverly at Porto Rico, and Paul Martin Pearson for the Virgin Islands.

San Juan is the capital and important city of Porto Rico. In its cathedral lie the bones of Ponce de Leon. At one time he was governor of the Island under Spain, then went to Florida in search of the fountain of youth, and was killed by the Indians. St. Thomas, capital of the Virgin Islands, stands among hills in which squat two old castles: Bluebeard's and Blackbeard's. The first was built by a Danish governor in 1689 and acquired its present name gradually and for no known reason. The second, according to legends, was owned by pirate John Teach, the often married.

Cruises to the Caribbean vary. You may take one which will last a few days, or you may be away a month or more. The shorter ones are designed to give a fleeting glimpse of Bermuda and Havana, and they appeal chiefly to people with limited time. They are patronized by people who like to invest short vacations in living comfortably and restfully on an ocean liner. As the cruises increase in length, additional ports are added to the itinerary; and the length of time to be spent ashore is also increased.

Besides the four companies already mentioned, the Italian Line, the International Mercantile Marine Company, the Holland American, Furness Bermuda, Swedish American, and the Hamburg American Lines have planned cruises that will fit any vacation—and its budget. The National Tours, through several lines, has arranged a variety of cruises. Grace Line ships serve the ter-

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...AND THE

SPANISH MAIN



St. Thomas (Virgin Islands)

Fort de France, St. Pierre (Martinique) Port-of-Spain (Trinidad)

La Guayra, Puerto Cabello (Venezuela)
Willemstad (Curacao)

Colon (Canal Zone) Havana (Cuba)

ABOUT Christmas-time, people are Agetting restless. They're looking southward, to the blue Caribbean, where the sun shines golden in midwinter.

The little French shops of Martinique are fascinating.... St. Thomas, Trinidad, La Guayra, and Curacao are full of buccaneering memories ... at Colon: the canal, Old Panama, the Miramar Club ... and fair Havana always delights visitors.

A West Indies Cruise is an ideal break in dreary Winter... and the beautiful, new Lafayette will sail there twice this season. A Christmas Cruise leaves New York December 16th for 19 days. The second leaves on February 25th.

The Lajayette is famous for her delicious cuisine and for the beauty of her salons. She will be a most comfortable and economical midwinter home.

See your own travel agent. He will gladly help arrange this cruise for you.... French Line, 19 State St., New York City.

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said George Bernard Shaw — in South Africa, a land of enchantment, rich with memories of Kruger, Rhodes, and the hardy "Voortrekkers"; of Rider Haggard and Olive Schreiner: Alp-like mountains and weird, fascinating plains — majestic waterfalls — stalactited caverns — exotic flowers — world-renowned gold and diamond mines — rock paintings of ancient Bushmen — the great game-filled Kruger National Park — modern cities and beautiful homes and gardens, contrasting with the mysterious Ruins of Zimbabwe and the primitive kraals and tribal customs of the Bantu.

SOUTH AFRICA

amazes with the multitude of its attractions, from Capetown and the charming Peninsula, to the crowning grandeur of Victoria Fails. Days of wondrous sight-seeing may be varied at luxurious country clubs and delightful seaside resorts, with golf, tennis, surfing, or the thrills of river and deep-sea fishing,—and all in a refreshing climate rich with floods of golden weekler.

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West Indies Cruises

Continued from page 75

ritory. Munson liners specialize in trips from New York to Barbados and Trinidad. The Ward Line specializes in serving Havana and Mexico. The Porto Rico Line runs to Porto Rico and the Dominican Republic. The large United Fruit Company sends its passenger-carrying Great White Fleet along northern South America and Central America and to Havana and Kingston among other ports. Cruise itineraries vary, even those managed by the same line. But each one, depending on its duration, touches at the maximum number of interesting ports.

One place touched by almost all the longer cruises is the Panama Canal Zone. Colon, at the Atlantic side, is the port of call. It is only a few miles from here, on Limon Bay, that boats enter the Canal for the short steam to Gatun Locks, where they are raised and started on their way. Through the tortuous windings they go; through Culebra Cut; to Pedro Miguel Lock and the Miraflores Locks; and thence to the Pacific. The Canal Zone has not yet been highly developed as a travel attraction. There is now on foot a movement to capitalize the advantages that the Canal and the surrounding region offer to travelers looking for something new; and before long the Canal Zone will be more than the site of a wonderful engineering achievement. In that region, unde-veloped as yet, are to be found many of those things which the traveler seeks. When its day of development comes, the already rich Caribbean will be even richer.

The Normandie

E ARLY IN 1934 the French Line's newest bid for supremacy in the North Atlantic passenger trade will make her maiden voyage: from Havre to New York. Christened Normandie by Mme. Lebrun, wife of the President of France, the ship was launched at St. Nazaire late in October.

At launching she weighed 32,000 tons. During the course of construction the weight will be increased to 75,000 tons, making her the heaviest passenger ship in the world. The Normandie will also be the fastest and the longest. More than a thousand feet long with a beam of 117 feet, she will carry 2132 passengers across the Atlantic at a thirty-knot speed. The voyage, including a stop at Plymouth, England, will take less than five days.

• IN OUR October issue, commenting on the Italian Line's new steamer Rex, it was remarked that the Rex proudly claimed the distinction of being the first ship to provide a permanent chapel exclusively for religious services. French Line politely calls our attention to the fact that this honor really belongs to the Ile de France.

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Of the Review of Reviews and World's Work, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1932.

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County of New York State of NEW YORK }ss.

County of New York State of NEW YORK Shaw, Ir., who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Review of Reviews and World's Work, and the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit: 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are; Publisher, The Review of Reviews Corporation, 55 Fifth Ave., New York; Editor, Albert Shaw, 55 Fifth Ave., New York; Managing Editor, Howard Florance, 55 Fifth Ave., New York, S. That the comer is: The Review of Reviews Corporation, 55 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, Jr., 55 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, Jr., 55 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, 56 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, 57 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, 57 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, 57 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, 56 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, 57 Fifth Ave., New York; Albert Shaw, Jr., Business Manager. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1932. Signed Myrtle Mortimer, Notary Public. (My co

Continued from page 66

the same period a year ago-due to reduced governmental costs-although tax receipts are less than was anticipated.

THE BRITISH House of Commons passes the Ottawa trade pacts, which buttress preferential tariffs for the benefit of the dominion foodstuffs (November 3). British Liberals express disgust at this desertion of free trade, which means higher costs for the needy English proletariat, although it serves to tighten the tenuous links of Empire. Anticipating Parliament approval of the Pacts, England (October 17) told the Soviet Union that her most-favored nation trade status would end in six months. Ottawa pledged the United Kingdom to prevent imports that would upset the preferential ar-rangements. Under the 1930 agreement England now breaks, Russia in 1931 exported to England \$54,000,000 worth of products-largely fish, grain, and wood. England in the same year sent Russia \$45,000,000 worth of manufactured goods.

Events Abroad

Mussolini's Italian Program.. England's dole . . . Deaths by violence.

M USSOLINI, speaking (October 23) in Turin, observes the end of the first decade of Fascism-the March on Rome occurred in 1922-by making a series of announcements stating Italy's position in world affairs. Italy has no intention of withdrawing from the League of Nations; but at the same time Il Duce urges closer coöperation between England, France, Germany, and Italy to offset some of the League's weaknesses. He hopes that the Lausanne agreement will persuade the United States to reduce or cancel war debts. He respects Germany's desire for equality of arms, but insists that it be achieved by a general international reduction at the Geneva Conference. He emphasizes Italy's attempts to lead disarmament moves and urges other nations to join in speedy action.

LONDON STREETS (November 1) are the scene of intense rioting between police and 20,000 "hunger marchers". October 18 the marchers have been congregating in the city to protest administration of the English dole. Most serious fighting takes place at the foot of the Big Ben tower of Parliament and about the Nelson column in Trafalgar Square. The crowd fails in its attempt to gain admission to the House of Commons, and the next day starts the return march home.

PARAGUAY troops capture Fort Platanillos from the Bolivians (November 5) in the continued dispute over the Chaco district. Nearby Forts Boqueron and Arce had previously fallen. Repeated Bolivian reverses precipitate a cabinet crisis when the various ministers fail to agree on a plan of action to placate the disgruntled Bolivian populace.

Continued on page 78

The March of Events | "YOU NEVER SEE HIS FACE"

Ganymede, who was cupbearer of the Olympian gods, made quite a name for himself. But then, his was an uncommon waiter's job and he an unusual youngster, so he should have had better luck than most waiters do in the matter of achieving personal recognition. For if there is any group of men

whose identity is lost in the service they perform, it is the waiters.

The waiter has been described as "the man whose face you never see," a true and perfect description as far as most of the public are concerned. Yet the waiters do not complain; they are generally quite philosophic about it. Certainly the Statler waiters* are.

They go on unobtrusively and deferentially serving our good Statler food to the guests who come to their tables. And the remarkable thing is that if they are largely unknown personalities to their steadiest patrons, those patrons are not unknown to them.

We have many, many waiters who have been with us since the houses in which they are employed were opened, and every one of them knows the intimate likes and dislikes of scores of guests. They know to whom to bring the various relishes for fish or meat, they remember that so-and-so must have his roast beef rare, that such-a-one takes cream but no sugar in his coffee and that another likes vinegar on his peas.

Waiters everywhere, of course, acquire this sort of knowledge of their guests, but we think that in our Statler hotels they do a little better job of it, evince a little more personal interest in their patrons' culinary preferences, serve a little more deftly and display a little more courtesy because of their training in the precepts of Statler Service.

*73% of Statler stockholders are employees.



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The March of Events

Continued from page 77

Four MEN are killed (November 5) in a big-scale Berlin transport strike involving almost all of the city's transportation services. This outlaw affair is reported as subsiding under Chancellor von Papen.

ENGLAND'S Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance reports (November 7) that its two-year study shows the so-called dole is desirable; and recommends that it be extended to cover domestic servants and farm workers. The "means test," which examines the private circumstances of dole applicants, is upheld-although it has been bitterly contested by labor elements. Debt on the unemployment fund-scheduled to be amortized in sixty-five years—amounts to \$350,000,000.

More than 1000 are killed and hundreds are seriously wounded when a hurricane strikes southern Cuba (November 10). Center of the stricken zone is Vera Cruz del Sur, in the province of Camagüey, where almost every structure is completely demolished.

Business

Home Loan Banks . . . U. S. Steel . . . Nevada's troubles . . . Lowest wheat.

Twelve banks, whose main purpose is to aid mortgage-burdened home owners, open (October 15) in widely separated parts of the United States. Created last July by the Home Loan Bank bill, the banks will loan banks and insurance companies money on mortgages secured by homes worth less than \$20,000. The fund from which advances will be made -the banks are required by law to be capitalized at a total not less than \$134,-000,000-is subscribed by member banks and the federal Treasury.

FOR THE FIRST TIME in ten years, the price of steel railroad rails drops (October 20): from \$43 to \$40 a ton. The reduction follows a luncheon given for executives of nine important eastern railroads by Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation. The new price, expected to stimulate buying, is immediately met by all steel rail producers.

MAINTAINING unbroken the record established in 1901, the United States Steel Corporation declares the regular \$1.75 quarterly dividend on its preferred stock (October 25).

AMERICAN unemployment dropped 560,-000 in September, according to figures published (October 27) by the American Federation of Labor. The total unemployed population is now 10,990,000.

NEVADA declares (November 1) twelve-day legal bank holiday. The action, taken by Lieutenant Governor Griswold while Governor Balzar is in Washington to seek funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation,

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December 11th to 18th, 1932

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The plan for Golden Rule Week this year enables even those with limited incomes to welcome these unseen guests who ask so piteously for a place at your table. At the least possible sacrifice you now can do your part to help them weather what many believe will be the crucial year of the depression.

A committee of leading household economists has prepared a series of menus and recipes to be used each day during Golden Rule Week. Tempting and appetizing, they will provide a family of five with adequate sustenance for an entire week at a maximum cost of \$8.88. The saving from your usual table budget will make it easy to follow the dictates of your heart toward alleviating the suffering of the less fortunate.

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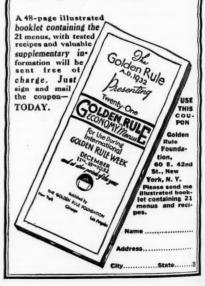
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necessary because prevailing low prices for livestock make it impossible for the state's cattle raisers to repay the large amounts they have borrowed from banks.

THE Reconstruction Finance Corporation makes its first loan for slum-elimination (November 2). In the Bronx, New York, there will be erected a model housing development-valued at \$6,000,-000-made possible by the Corporation's \$4,000,000 advance.

WHEAT prices touch the lowest mark in American history (November 3) as the value on deliveries for December and later drops to a fraction under 42 cents a bushel. The price is lower than the 42 cent tariff designed to protect American wheat from foreign competition.

Political Speeches

The candidates speak.

FORMER Governor Alfred E. Smith, speaking (November 5) from the same

New York platform with Governor Roosevelt, urges the election of a complete Democratic ticket.

Norman Thomas, at a Socialist rally in New York (November 6) attacks the Republicans for their methods of handling Depression. On the ground that neither old party can offer a permanent cure for the world's ills, he defines the needs for an organized Socialist party in the United States. He admits the impossibility of a Socialist victory this year, but urges that this election be made the start of the party's future growth. "Planned production for use, not profit," is his solution of the world's problems.

THE REPUBLICAN party's last plea for the country's vote, on the ground that a Democratic victory would retard economic recovery, is made (November 7) in a California radio address of the President, home to vote. His other important speeches are as follows: Cleveland (October 15); Detroit (October 22); Indianapolis (October 28); New York (October 31); Washington (November 2); St. Louis (November 4); St. Paul (Nov. 5).

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT closes (November 7) his campaign by reiterating his plea for an opportunity to put into effect his plans for a "new deal" for the country. His speeches have included one in Pittsburgh (October 19), Indianapolis (October 20), St. Louis (October 21), Louisville (October 22), Atlanta (October 24), Baltimore (October 25), Boston (October 31). He and Owen D. Young appeared on the same platform in New York (November 4). Last addresses were in Brooklyn (Nov. 4), New York (Nov. 5).

Making his first public utterance (November 12) since losing his race for reëlection, President Hoover pledges himself "to coöperate with our opponents in every sound measure for the restoration of prosperity." His words, addressed to the Republican party, are spoken into a radio microphone at Glendale, California, just as he prepares to return to his desk in Washington.



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